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DISQUISITIONS

UPON THE

PAINTED GREEK VASES,

AND

THEIR PROBABLE CONNECTION WITH THE

SHOWS OF THE ELEUSINIAN AND OTHER MYSTERIES.

S. C. 4

By JAMES CHRISTIE,

A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI.

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DISQUISITIONS

UPON THE

PAINTED GREEK VASES.

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Λαμπὸν ἄγων φάος ἀγνόν. ONOMACR. *Hymn.* v. ver. 8.

Ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ Λαμπτὴρ τῷ περιέχοντι τὴν ψυχὴν σώματι; φῶς γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐντὸς ψυχή. — PLUTARCH. *Rom. Quæst.* 72.

PREFACE.

As these disquisitions were not originally intended for the public eye, the writer, several years ago, was induced to limit an impression of them to a small number of copies, that he might have the pleasure of placing them in the hands of a learned few, for whom he entertained a particular affection or respect, and whom he knew to be conversant with, or interested in, the subject of his enquiry. While the book was confined to this circle, he felt the less pain when he subsequently discovered its many imperfections, but he soon found with considerable regret, that by this attempt at privacy, he had unintentionally stamped a price upon it that was greatly beyond its merits. He has long wished to correct this unfair estimate of its value; and as many new discoveries (if he may dare to term them such) have presented themselves in the course of his further reading and reflection, he now lays his disquisitions before the public, revised, and somewhat enlarged; aware, however, that, in adding to the contents of his work, he will have increased the occasion he had for the reader's indulgence.

He apprehends that few, since the time of D'Hancarville, have been disposed to regard the embellishments of these vases as fair specimens of the art of painting among the Greeks. Nevertheless, he will venture to repeat on this occasion, an observ-

ation with which he had prefaced the former impression of his work, as an answer to any who may still be found to advocate this opinion.

In this work he has advanced an original supposition, and as he conceives upon very sufficient grounds, that the paintings upon the Greek vases were copied from transparencies. Should this be denied, it will nevertheless be evident, that D'Hancarville was not justified in reasoning upon the art from the paintings upon Greek vases; for we must admit, that unless better specimens existed at the same early times, upon wood, or canvas, or in fresco, the art of painting in Greece was very far behind that of sculpture, and by no means entitled to high encomium, which would involve a contradiction to many high authorities, and it would follow, that the Greek painters were very deficient in composition* and colouring, at the same time that we acknowledge they excelled in character and design.† If, on the other hand, it be credible, that very skilful Greek artists were engaged in the

* Either the ground or the figures in these paintings being illumined, it became necessary that the latter should be detached as much as possible from each other, to prevent confusion. Hence the difficulty of grouping, otherwise than by placing the figures upon different elevations in the picture. A most valuable amphora, formerly in the possession of William Chinnery, and now in that of Thomas Hope, Esq. is a notable instance. This vase is well known from the subject of the painting, usually termed the death of Patroclus. It presents a complicated group of figures designed with great spirit. These are placed, not on the same plane, but on three tiers or stages, in defiance of the rules of perspective.

† This excellence may be particularly instanced in a lettered Campana vase of the late James Edwards, Esq., the subject of which is the mysterious descent of Theseus accompanied by Castor and Tydeus, to bring back Actæon from the shades. It is well known to the virtuosi in this country.

service of religion, to copy scenes from the temple at Eleusis, and that those who executed them were on some occasions proud of their work appears from their names being inscribed upon them*, we shall be left to regret, that those who so employed their pencils could never rise to a higher title than that of Σκιαγράφοι, or shadow painters; for the nature of the subjects they had to imitate necessarily limited their powers.

The credit, however, of the Greek painters has been vindicated by several writers, particularly by the ingenious Mr. Webbe. His evidences tend to prove that, except at least as to mixed compositions, the Greeks had attained a high degree of excellence in every department of the art. However this may really have been, the writer of this tract feels inclined to discourage any further attempts, either to ascertain the progress of the art, or the perfection of it at any particular period, by such imperfect documents as the Greek vases afford; and he trusts the reasonableness of his conjectures respecting their use will justify his dissent from the opinions of D'Hancarville on this head.

That the paintings upon these Vases have an allegorical reference to the doctrines of the mysteries, is an opinion that has been very tardily admitted by the learned on the Continent. But an antiquary of superior intelligence, the Cav. Inghirami, with whose work the writer has become acquainted only since he completed the revision of his book for the press, (and the perusal of that work

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* Thus, upon a vase in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq. is inscribed ΤΑΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ. This vase was found at Agrigentum, and is of very early manufacture.

has not induced him to alter or enlarge the contents of his own,) has adopted this opinion, and maintained it with ingenuity and success. By comparing together the paintings of many vases, the Cav. Inghirami has discovered, in certain of them, allusions to figures in the celestial sphere, to which the Mystæ were supposed to gain admission by initiation. He imagines that these astronomical phenomena were descanted upon in the mysteries; "which," he says, "regarded the passage of souls from this "life to another state, and from another life back to this state of "mortality." (Vasi Fittili, vol. v. p. 205.) In this view of the subject he has surmounted considerable difficulties. In explaining also certain other paintings, in a moral and religious sense, by the doctrines of the Platonists, he has gone very much farther than the writer of these disquisitions, and he has given many luminous expositions, that must be deemed, if not always, yet most frequently, satisfactory and convincing.

To have been mentioned by this learned foreigner in flattering terms must necessarily be a gratification to the writer of the present work; and although such favourable expressions have been qualified by others, discrediting the writer's general views upon this subject, yet he is contented to have gone before this learned foreigner in many opinions which the Cav. Inghirami has adopted. If this ingenious antiquary had been acquainted with the writer's opinions, otherwise than through the imperfect medium of the Magazin Encyclopédique, he must have seen, that however they might have trodden a different path in pursuing their several enquiries, their conclusions were frequently the

same, and that the researches of both had one ultimate object. At the same time he thinks he has some cause to complain of this learned foreigner, for condemning in the gross, before he had himself perused the original work of the author; and for advancing a complaint of a paucity of proofs adduced, and those partially selected, to the exclusion of a greater number that would, as he imagined, have controverted the author's scheme. The Cav. Inghirami, however, has had the candour to quote a passage from another distinguished antiquary, Mr. Vermiglioli, who had reproved the learned foreigner for having attached himself to what he terms the "*Sistema emanato dal Christic.*"* This, then, is sufficient for the author. It is possible that he may have erred, by adhering too closely to the Horatian precept respecting brevity †; but, if from a small selection of proofs, which were designed by him as illustrations of so many different classes dependent upon them, and with a scanty proportion of letter-press, he has obtained results that do not differ widely from those which the Cav. Inghirami has arrived at, in a quarto volume of no ordinary bulk, he presumes this learned foreigner will allow him the merit of having turned his materials, such as they were, to a good account, with as little inconvenience as possible to the reader. He is content with such an acknowledgment, that this systematic view of the subject had been long ago adopted by him, and he very cheerfully leaves the defence of the system to so powerful a champion as the Cav. Inghirami.

* Vasi Fittili, vol. v. p. 488. Mr. Vermiglioli does the writer too much honour. It was Charles Towneley, Esq. who first observed a mystic theology in works of Grecian art. He, jointly with the late R. P. Knight, Esq., furnished D'Hancarville with a great part of the materials of his quarto work on the *Esprit des Arts de la Grèce.*

† Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis. —— *De Arte Poet.*

Believing, then, that whatever new light may be further thrown on the allegorical paintings of the Greek vases will be reflected upon them by the labours of such a writer as the Cav. Inghirami, the author of the present work does not regret that he has added very little to this part of his enquiry. He has left what had occurred to him on the subject more than nineteen years ago, nearly as he then represented it.* He gladly turns from these to other more agreeable and consolatory considerations; and he has been irresistibly led to point to them in the conclusion of his work, and in the Appendix. In the latter he has also broached some novelties, that he hopes may prove useful or entertaining. His Systematic Classification of Vases, whatever may be thought of the grounds on which it rests, may be found useful to those who regard these vessels merely for the beauty of their forms, and to others, who may have occasion to describe them in large collections.

In attempting to trace the influence of the mystic theology of the ancients upon their sacred architecture, and the imitation of that practice by the Christians in the early centuries, in illustration of more genuine truths, he has produced some novel observations and conjectures, which may not be generally approved, because they differ from received opinions.

If these shall not be thought of the value which he himself attaches to them, they may serve at least to give a new train of thought to more judicious enquirers. He merely desires that they may be weighed and considered; since it cannot be denied, that the information we possess respecting the origin of Gothic architecture is far from satisfactory or conclusive.

* The former impression of his work was given in 1806.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

Of the painted Greek Pottery found in the Tombs of Magna Græcia. — Use of these Vessels, as conjectured from a Passage in Pindar, — As proved by a Passage in Aristophanes. — Their Connection with the Greek Mysteries inferred from Apuleius. — Mazzocchi's Explanation of the Inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ confuted. — That these Vessels were symbolical Records of religious Doctrines and Opinions. Page 1

CHAP. II.

Origin of these Vases considered from an Examination of the Paintings upon them. — An early Sicilian Cup illustrated by a Phœnician Coin. — Origin of the Statues and Symbols of Minerva, and the Meaning of the latter explained. - 10

CHAP. III.

The Devices of the Apulian Vases derived from Sparta and Phœnicia. — Imported from Magna Græcia to Rome. — Digression respecting the Games of the Roman Circus. — Of the Olive Wreath on the Campanulate Vases. — Banquet of the Blessed. - - - - - - - - - - 16

CHAP. IV.

An Exposure of the Mysteries by Clemens Alexandrinus. - - - 26

CHAP. V.

Of the Scenery of the Eleusinian Mysteries. — The Paintings on the Greek Vases copied from them. — Eastern Illuminations and the Eleusinian Shows compared. 34

CHAP. VI.

Of the Lesser and the Greater Mysteries. — The Vase and the Lantern comparatively considered as Symbols. — Various other Symbols explained. — Use of the Intaglio. — The Descent of Bacchus, under different Characters, *ad Inferos*, his Voyage over the Styx, and Re-ascent, exhibited as a Mystical Drama, in a Succession of transparent Scenes, selected chiefly from antique Gems. - - - 43

CHAP. VII.

The Ceremonies peculiar to each Day of the Greater Mysteries, as enumerated by Meursius, and an Attempt to explain the Exhibitions in the Propylæa. — Cha-

racters assumed by the Priests. — These Characters discovered on a Sicilian Vase, illustrating the Mysteries of the Idæi Dactyli. - - Page 58

CHAP. VIII.

Harmonious Arrangement of the Universe. - - - - 68

CHAP. IX.

Attributes of the Deity variously personated on Vases. — Of Shields, and their Devices. - - - - - - - - - - - 71

CHAP. X.

Temporary Repose of Nature. — Of the Egyptian Horus in the torpid State. — Mutes on the Reverse of Vases. — Figures draped and naked. - 74

CHAP. XI.

Of Fish, and the Allegory of Angling. - - - - - 81

CHAP. XII.

Of Old Age, Wine, Music, and Rhetoric. - - - - 85

CHAP. XIII.

Of the dotted Chaplet, Girdle, and Scarf. — The Fate of Cassandra, and the Flight of Æneas mystically treated. - - - - - - - - 89

CHAP. XIV.

Of Solstitial Fountains. - - - - - - - - 97

CHAP. XV.

Of the Window and the Ladder, and the Banqueting Chamber of the Blessed. — Singular Customs of the Oriental Buddhists explained. - - 101

CHAP. XVI.

Extinction of Heathen Rites in Greece and Italy. — Eleusinian Mysteries inadequate to the End proposed in them. — Conclusion. - - - - 107

APPENDIX.

SECTION I.—Classification of the Greek Fictilia. - - - - 119

SECTION II.—Of the Water Lilies of Egypt and Greece. — Of the Cibotium and Cibotus, or Ark of the Covenant. — Mysterious Allusions in the Nymphæa Lotus. — These Allusions discoverable in the Grecian, Moorish, and Gothic Architecture. The latter probably derived from Alexandria in Egypt. - - 135

CHAPTER I.

Of the painted Greek Pottery found in the Tombs of Magna Græcia. — Use of these Vessels, as conjectured from a Passage in Pindar, — As proved by a Passage in Aristophanes. — Their Connection with the Greek Mysteries inferred from Apuleius. — Mazzocchi's Explanation of the Inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ *confuted. — That these Vessels were symbolical Records of religious Doctrines and Opinions.*

The antiquary, who has investigated Pagan customs and opinions in very early times, when the field of his enquiry has extended beyond those periods to which the events of history can be traced with accuracy, has usually had little more than traditions to consider, etymologies to sift, and allegories to reduce to some consistent meaning; and much has been effected by men of learning in this way. If it has been said, that deductions from such imperfect premises are little to be depended upon, yet must it be better to approximate to the truth by such means, than to reject them, because we may not be able to show that they lead us precisely to it. Nay, many have wandered much farther from the truth by declining such aid. They who shrink from the difficulties presented by these studies, and who will not exercise

their judgment upon them, are apt to take the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς of the ancients in too literal a sense; and unbelievers have gladly availed themselves of their errors, which enabled them to set at nought the chronology of Scripture.

But there is another class of materials of a more substantial nature, that seem calculated to supply the void occasioned by the want of records and authentic dates, in the early ages. The analogies of symbols furnish conclusions that, on some occasions, amount almost to certainty. If allegory was the style that prevailed in the first languages, symbols were the characters in which they were noted down. Many of these are confessedly national signs. The concurrence of them in distant situations, proves a connection no less clearly than the page of history could have transmitted it. The means of explaining them one by another may be attained by a careful examination; and, by beginning with the more obvious and simple, and proceeding upward to the more intricate and obscure, it is not impossible that the studious enquirer may eventually succeed in penetrating the engraven records of Egypt, and in extorting from them all the information they conceal.

On these analogies I shall very much rely, in my present enquiry respecting the ancient earthen vessels, which have been discovered at different times and in great numbers, chiefly in the tombs of Lower Italy.

So various have been the rites of sepulture among the nations of antiquity, that their languages scarcely present a stronger characteristic of each individual people. While the Egyptian filled the corpse with gums, and swathed it in asphaltus, the Jew contented himself with a more superficial mode of embalmment. Both deposited their dead in caves, or subterranean recesses. The Romans burnt their dead, having received the custom from their Trojan ancestors. The Heracleidæ introduced it into Greece, from the example of the founder of their race, who constructed for

himself a pile upon Mount Œta. Burning and interment were, indeed, long and indiscriminately practised in Greece; but I suspect that the former custom became less frequent, as the doctrines of Eleusis obtained a stronger influence on the public mind. The notion of combustion was inconsistent with the doctrines alluded to on the painted vases. A presumed connection between these vessels and the mysteries of Eleusis, may both account for the use of them as a funeral rite, and for the very scanty allusion made to them by Greek authors.

This custom of depositing vases in sepulchres, is supposed to have been introduced into Sicily and Magna Græcia by the early Greek colonists from Greece Proper, and into Etruria, by emigrants from the same country. The term Etruscan, indeed, applied to these vases, seems to be now generally abandoned. Nevertheless the early use of them by the Tuscans is established by the discoveries of the late Mr. Wilcocks at Civita Turchino, in Italy. * The Cav. Bossi in his history of Italy, claims the first manufacture of these vessels for the Tuscans: — "Di quest' arte, "siccome di molte altre, furono maestri gli Etruschi ai Romani, e "fors' anche ai Greci."—*Istoria d' Italia*, vol. i. p. 286. But this, I apprehend, will scarcely be conceded. The manner in which these vessels are disposed in tombs is well represented in an engraving, introduced into the second volume of the great work of D' Hancarville, p. 57, that illustrates the first collection of vases formed by the late Sir William Hamilton. The body of the deceased was deposited in the centre of the vault, or upon an embankment raised against a side wall of the structure. It was surrounded by these painted earthen vessels, some of which had particular positions assigned to them, one being placed upon the

* See the interesting account of some subterraneous apartments with Etruscan inscriptions and paintings explored at his expense, in the preface to his Roman Conversations, vol. i. p. lxv.

chest of the corpse, and another between the legs, and (occasionally at least) a lamp near the crown of the head. The most curious kinds of vases are found in the tombs in Sicily, those of finest manufacture near Nola in Campania. A different description of vessel seems to have been peculiar to different districts, yet some of almost every kind are found in the same tomb, which may be accounted for by a passage in Apuleius to be hereafter noticed. As they vary likewise considerably in their forms, and in the style of the painting, I have imagined that a certain classification of them might be adopted, by which, upon examining any large collection of them, individual specimens might be briefly and expeditiously distinguished. This I will lay before my reader hereafter*, and in the mean time consider, for what use these vases were designed, and the reason of their having been deposited in tombs. The most probable conjecture on the first head, is that of Lanzi and Visconti, grounded on a passage in the 10th Nemean Ode of Pindar, v. 62, &c. that these vessels were awarded as prizes to winners in the several contests of the Panathenæan festival. In this ode, Pindar says of Thiæus, that twice (or a second time after some intermission) he was the subject of Athenian hymns ἐν τελεταῖς in their perfectory rites, and that the produce of the olive was borne by him to Argos, ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις, "enclosed in vessels very variously ornamented." Now, although παμποικίλοις may admit of different significations, yet, as the painted portico at Athens was named ποικίλη from the paintings it contained, the word must here also be accepted in the same sense. It is observable that Pindar attributes to the Panathenæa a mystic signification, by terming them τελεταὶ, and Theodoret also designates them by the same word. I therefore willingly subscribe to the conjecture of Lanzi and Visconti, if it should be further supposed, that the winners at these contests

* See the Appendix.

(which consisted of flinging the torch in a horse race, of athletic exercises, a musical competition, and a galley race off Cape Sunium,) were bound to preserve the vases won by them until their dying day, to be then buried with them: for, that the vases found in tombs were painted expressly for the dead, is declared by Aristophanes. In the comedy of the Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι, a young man, jeering an abandoned old woman, and reminding her how near she was to her grave, says: —

Y. But, you wretch, I am afraid of that lover of yours.
O. What lover?
Y. Why, of him, the first of artists.
O. Who is he?
Y. He who paints the *lecythi* for the dead. *

Hence it appears, that there was a class of painters at Athens, wholly employed in painting the vases that were deposited with the dead, and that these vases were manufactured expressly for this purpose. For, hear again the same dramatic author: —

Away you went, and left me like a corpse;
Except that you neither crowned me, nor laid upon me the *lecythus*. †

The scholiast acquaints us, that the lecythus denoted both a lamp and an oil vase for filling it; * and as I have noticed the custom of placing a lamp in the tomb near the head of the deceased, the several vases surrounding the body, if viewed as so many emblem-

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* Ν. Ἀλλ', ὦ μελέ', ὀρρωδῶ τὸν ἐραςήν σου. ΓΡ. Τίνα;
Ν. Τὸν τῶν γραφέων ἄριστον. ΓΡ. Οὗτος δ' ἔςι τίς;
Ν. Ὃς τοῖς νεκροῖσι ζωγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους.
Ἐκκλ. v. 986-7-8.

† Ὤχη καταλιπῶσ', ὡσπερεὶ προκείμενον,
Μονονὲ στεφανώσασ' ἀδ' ἐπιθεῖσα λήκυθον.
Ἐκκλ. v. 533-4. Ed. Kusteri.

A singular coincidence between ancient and modern customs may be collected from the "Voyages de Tournefort", who, describing the ceremonies of a modern Greek funeral, observes, "Un des Papas mit sur l'estomac de la morte un morceau de pot "cassé, sur lequel on avoit gravé avec la pointe d'un couteau, une croix, et les "caractères ordinaires, INBI. Ἰησοῦς Ναζαραῖος βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων." — Vol. i. p. 154.

atical reservoirs of oil for keeping alive that lamp, might very well imply the hope, that the flame of life would be rekindled in a future state. But whatever mystic meaning was attached to the Panathenæan, or to any other vases, it was only at Eleusis (as I suspect) that their secret allusions were explained: for, however the Panathenæa were termed τελεταὶ, or perfectory rites, yet we hear of no μύησις or initiation preceding or accompanying them; and yet Aristophanes has said: —

Δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναί με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι. *
I must needs be initiated before I die.

It is to Eleusis, therefore, that we must direct our regard, in order to obtain a full explanation of this interesting subject.

Now, as these vessels are found only in Greek tombs, they may be supposed to have been deposited there, as a tessera, or mark that the deceased had been initiated, by commemorating the particular scenes at Eleusis, of which he might have been Ἐπόπ]ης, or spectator. These painted vases, then, and the *crepundia* of diminutive pottery, we may conclude, were the memorials of initiation spoken of by Apuleius, which he had received from the priests, and preserved with devout secrecy in the *penetralia* of his dwelling. — " Vin' dicam, cujusmodi illas res in sudario " obvolutas, laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi geretur. " — Sacrorum pleraque initia in Græciâ participavi. Eorum " quædam signa et monumenta tradita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulò " conservo. Nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico: vel unius " Liberi Patris symmistæ, qui adestis, scitis, quid domi conditum " celetis, et absque omnibus profanis tacitè veneremini." — And again: — " Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri potest, cui sit ulla " memoria religionis, hominem tot mysteriis Deûm conscium, " quædam sacrorum crepundia domi adservare?" — *Apologia.*

* Εἰρην. v. 374.

It is here observable, that Apuleius had not been initiated at Eleusis only, but in various parts of Greece, and had received these trinkets from the initiators; we may therefore conclude, that there were various religious theatres where mystic shows were exhibited, and although Greek writers have not spoken of them, that there may have been Agrigentine, Nolan, and other mysteries, equal in point of splendour to those at Eleusis; which may account for vases of different manufactures being frequently found in the same sepulchre.

If a computation were to be made of all the prizes delivered in the lesser annual, and in the greater quinquennial Panathenæa, from the first invention of the art of painting down to the Christian æra, or to the final extinction of that Athenian festival, the quantity of ancient *fictilia* preserved in the collections in this country and on the Continent, would infinitely outnumber them; so that even the hypothesis of Lanzi and Visconti would be insufficient to account for the almost infinite number found. The Grecian mysteries alluded to by Apuleius might have very well supplied them.

But not only do I believe, that the paintings on these *fictilia* represented the scenery of the Eleusinian shows, but that the certificate of initiation to them was expressed on these memorials; as in the words, ΚΑΛΩϹ or ΚΑΛΟϹ inscribed in transparent characters on the vases of Nola. Thus ΚΛΙΝΙΑϹ ΚΑΛΩϹ, sc. ἐτελεύτησε, "Cli-"nias died in the good hope;" upon one of this description in the possession of Samuel Rogers, Esq.: ΚΛΙΤΑΡΧΟϹ ΚΑΛΟϹ in opaque letters on the famous Agrigentine vase of Thomas Hope, Esq., —ΚΑΛΕ ΔΟΚΕϹ* declared of a female upon a vase cited by the Abbé Zarillo in his two letters to the late Mr. Millin, wherein the Abbé proved with considerable neatness of remark, as well as erudition, that δοκεῖς does not so much imply "you appear,"

* As if for ΚΑΛΗ ΔΟΚΕΙΣ.

as "you appear in the judgment of," "you are considered;" which gives fresh colour to my explanation of the words inscribed: that the person had been approved by the initiator, and by him pronounced *perfect*. From these considerations, I feel inclined to disbelieve that anecdote which Clemens has reported (Protrept. p. 47. Ed. Potter), so injurious to the credit of Phidias, that the artist designed to celebrate the beauty of a favourite by the words inscribed on the finger of his Olympian Jupiter. I rather apprehend that proud of his performance, Phidias gave the challenge to criticism, by declaring in the language of Eleusis, ΠΑΝΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, that his figure of the all-sufficient Deity was *a perfect work*.

This injurious illustration of the word ΚΑΛΟΣ upon Greek vases was first made by Mazzocchi, and Count Caylus, and has been from them adopted by almost every antiquary upon the Continent, with the exception of the honest Targioni, who revolts from so base an application of the term. He very judiciously observes, that the ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΛΟΙ in Aristophanes could never have been a term of amatory affection. It was in truth, what in English we should express, in the warmth of political feeling, by "*Athenians* "*for ever!*" But it is needless for me to engage in any controversy on this subject, when the passage I have already adduced from Aristophanes to prove that these vases were painted for the dead, presents an argument unanswerable.

Let those who prefer the opinion of Mazzocchi and Caylus reflect, that if these vases were manufactured expressly for the tomb, the compliment conveyed by the word ΚΑΛΟΣ must have come too late. If therefore it alludes to beauty, it must be to spiritual, and not corporeal beauty.

The mystic doctrine of the immortality of the soul imparted at Eleusis, being allegorically expressed by an elegant group on the side of the vase, the painting itself was put for the religious opinion of the person, and the person was in some degree repre-

sented by the vase. This idea may be illustrated from Plutarch; who, in his tract *de Iside et Osiride*, furnishes a very probable account of the manner in which these scenic shows originated, and for the custom of depositing vases in tombs: I may therefore properly conclude this portion of my disquisition by adducing it.

It seems that the veils or sacred garments, with which the statues of the Egyptian Deity Isis were apparelled, were partly black and partly white, for which Plutarch gives the following reason: καὶ περιστέλλοντες, τὰ μὲν, μέλανα καὶ σκίωδη, τὰ δὲ, φανερὰ* καὶ λαμπρὰ, τῆς περὶ θεῶν ὑποδηλοῦντα οἰήσεως, οἵα καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἀποφαίνεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι τούτοις τοὺς ἀποθανόντας Ἰσιακοὺς, σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἶναι μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ἔχοντας, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν, ἐκεῖ βαδίζειν.—Sect. iii.

"Moreover, by clothing the statues with apparel, partly "black or shady, partly light and brilliant, they indicate their "notions of the Deity, and profess to think of his nature, as of "this sacred clothing; and the dressing the votaries of Isis, "when dead, in the same apparel, is a sign that these opinions are "still with them, and that they departed from life in the full "persuasion of this, rejecting every other doctrine."

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* The first scene ever used was, perhaps, the sacred *peplus*. The mere display of this to the people by torch-light, would have produced the effect of a transparency.

CHAP. II.

Origin of these Vases considered, from an Examination of the Paintings upon them. — An early Sicilian Cup illustrated by a Phœnician Coin. — Origin of the Statues and Symbols of Minerva, and the Meaning of the latter explained.

It may now be interesting to consider, what information respecting the origin of these vases may be derived from the paintings upon them. Of the purple-figured vessels, supposed to be the earliest in point of antiquity, and of Carthaginian manufacture, I have very little to observe, except that I have met with one of these of oblate spheroidal form*, which exhibited, in purple lines round the orifice at top, an allusion to the eight petals of the Nymphæa Lotus of Egypt. The painted ornaments upon them, in general, present no great variety of objects beyond animals and flowers, and occasionally armed figures with their circular

* The consideration of the forms of these vessels, and the origin of them from the fruits of the different kinds of water-lily, is fully stated in my Appendix.

shields. Upon a vessel approaching to the urceolate shape, one of a pair in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq., seven of these warriors surround the bulb of the vase. We dare not term them the seven chiefs before Thebes, because their shields are deficient of the necessary symbols, and I venture to assert, that attempts to illustrate history by the paintings upon Greek pottery will generally be labour misapplied.

The large Sicilian lachrymatories, evidently of somewhat later manufacture than the preceding, are of a more interesting class, but the paintings upon them are very difficult to explain. The grim military characters represented on them, remind us of the τραλπιγολογχυπηνάδαι, "The bearded-spear-and-trumpet-men" of Æschylus *, and they cannot be much later than his time. Among the allegories they exhibit, we sometimes observe Minerva with her arms extended, separating four fighting warriors, which may perhaps denote *mind*, putting asunder and composing the four other first conflicting elements. Sometimes Hercules, or Divine Power, is destroying the bull-man Minos, who is probably the representative of terrestrial beings in general. I shall venture to select the allegory of the sea-horse, as I find it expressed on a vessel in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq.; believing that it admits of more particular illustration, and that it may serve to direct us to the quarter from whence the doctrine it records was transmitted to the Mystagogues in Sicily. The vase to which I allude is a large two-handled cup with a painting on the front (and the same device is repeated on the reverse of it), representing a bearded figure with a trident, borne on a marine monster, and emerging from the ocean.† The hinder part of the composite figure that bears him is fashioned as a fish, which has been assisted in its passage through the water by a pair of ponderous

* Aristophanis Ranæ, v. 997.

† See the Vignette prefixed to this chapter.

wings; the head and fore quarters are those of a horse: a swan, standing on the front ground, and drying its extended wings, shows that the chimæra is on the point of setting its hoofs upon firm land.

The painting further bears an inscription, but in characters not easy to decipher *; and I regret to be debarred the information, which a perfect knowledge of them might have thrown upon the subject of the painting.

The latter seems to prove the introduction of religious information into Magna Græcia, through the medium of a people not usually resorted to for that purpose in enquiries of this nature.

Upon a Phœnician coin ascribed by the late Mr. Dutens to Gaza in Palestine, and engraved in his work on the coins of that country, a figure armed with a bow is mounted on a sea-horse; while the reverse exhibits an owl, between the Egyptian emblems—the pastoral crook and the winnowing fan of Osiris.

Now it is to be remembered, that the Ἀθήνη of the Greeks was the same as the Neith of Egypt, and the latter was an emblem of their fifth element (their *quinta essentia*), *Spirit*; and hence Athene among the Greeks became the goddess of wisdom. This subject is so interesting, that I shall venture to discuss it more at large.

When Danaus emigrated from Egypt to Greece, which seems to have happened soon after the Exodus, statues were not known in the latter country, nor, as we may presume, in Egypt. † It is credible that living animals were at that time adopted in Egypt,

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* The characters seem to express the word σοῦσο, "go forth," from a verb much used by Æschylus; but in this I may very probably be mistaken.

† The use of idol images in Egypt at that time is not necessarily to be inferred from the fashioning of the golden calf. The graving tool had been used for cutting names and not figures upon signets. Exodus xxviii. v. 11. The skill of Bezaleel was divinely imparted. Exodus xxxi. v. 2, 3. 6, 7, and the second commandment gave a warning against the misapplication of such skill.

as symbols of the elements worshipped there. The ox, from its having directed the founders of colonies to streams and pastures, was viewed as a symbol of the earth, and especially of the soil of Egypt: for it was this which the Israelites longed for, when, parched in the sultry desert, they called for *leading gods* to go before them, or in other words, when they wished for the glad sight of oxen, streams, and fertile pastures. These were the Θεοὶ ὁδηγοὶ, which pointed out to Cadmus the future site of Thebes*, and which appear on coins as oxen with human heads, as on those of Gela, Neapolis, and others; nay, perhaps the representations, on Sicilian vases, of Theseus slaying the Minotaur may partially refer to the successes of Greek colonists, who overpowered the aborigines, and planted themselves in their room, as premises that led to certain mystic conclusions. Crocodiles and fishes were adopted as symbols of water, from which the family of the great ancestor of the Egyptian colony had been preserved during the flood. The ibis represented air, and the hawk, as we may collect from Porphyry, denoted fire. But the elements reverenced in Egypt were five in number, and Neith was a representative of the last of them. By an incident in the history of Danaus, we are informed how Neith must have been symbolised in Egypt. Eusebius in his elaborate work, "A Pre-"paration for the Gospel," lib. iii. c. 8., has adduced a fragment of an epigram ascribed to Callimachus. It requires some emendations, which an experienced critic might easily supply, but the sense of it is sufficiently clear: —

> "No images were yet, — but on its base,
> A fresh hewn plank supplied the statue's place,
> Such were their gods; and Lindian Pallas stood,
> By Danaus fix'd, a polish'd stem of wood."

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* See the Chorus to the Phœnissæ of Euripides, v. 651. et seq.: —

Κάδμος ἔμολε τάνδε γᾶν,

* * *

We learn from this, that upon the arrival of Danaus at Lindus in the island of Rhodes, he set up a plank or the stump of a tree, to represent Minerva. We may hence conclude, that in Egypt also, from whence he came, a tree, as the symbol of Neith, denoted air, or spirit. This leads us up to the worship of patriarchal times, when symbols and figurative rites appear to have been innocently used, although they were afterwards perverted by the Gentiles; as the oaks in Mamre: and these, perhaps, may be referred to the Mosaic account of the first pair hearing the *voice* of the Lord God, walking in the garden, in the cool of the day. If we trace the misapplication of this tradition downwards, we may be led by it to account for the worshipping in groves, and for Minerva under her Grecian name Athene (which is but the Egyptian Neith reversed), being distinguished by her peculiar emblem of the tree; that tree too, the olive, which produces oil: for oil had been symbolically used in patriarchal times, to feed that light which indicated the presence of the Deity, and to render his *Spirit* abiding, as when poured by Jacob on the stone in Beth-el. For as the Spirit in Scripture is likened to fire, so unction denotes the abiding of it, and this has been the real meaning of anointing in various ceremonies of the Christian churches.

This will serve to explain the meaning of the owl, the olive tree, and the amphora, on the coins of Athens, where they are used as symbols of the *intellectual* goddess Minerva; and I apprehend that the *caput acris equi* (Virg.), combined with the palm-tree on the coins of Carthage, was intended to denote the movement or procession of spirit.

On the Phœnician coin above cited, the owl was the emblem of chaotic night, and spirit. The pastoral crook and the winnowing fan implied alternately collecting and dispersing. These were the supposed modes of the proceeding of that spirit, which, on the obverse of the same coin, is represented moving on the waters,

after the first ray of light, implied by the bow, had gleamed forth; when the dry land, of which we have an indication on this vase, appeared; and when the several parts of the creation, *man* and *animals*, and fishes, and fowls, had their habitations assigned to them, whether on the land or in the waters.

The subject of this painting, therefore, alludes either to the first movement of Spirit upon water, or to the renovation of created beings after the destruction of them by the waters of the deluge.

The assertion of Herodotus (lib. ii.), that Poseidon and the Dioscuri were not admitted among the gods of Egypt, and that the Egyptians were even unacquainted with their names, prevents our deriving from thence the doctrine as recorded by this vase. The Phœnician coin first noticed, exhibits that enterprising people in a new commercial point of view, as giving and receiving religious opinions, adopting symbols intelligible to the Egyptians, with whom they trafficked on the one hand, and to the Athenians on the other, and combining them with notions of their own. It may, therefore, be concluded, that the Phœnicians imported much information of a mixed nature into Sicily, and that "PUNIC" applied to the earliest Greek pottery, is not absolutely an inappropriate term.

CHAP. III.

The Devices of the Apulian Vases, derived from Sparta and Phœnicia. — Imparted from Magna Græcia to Rome. — Digression respecting the Games of the Roman Circus. — Of the Olive Wreath on the Campanulate Vases. — Banquets of the Blessed.

Dismissing for the present, the campanulate and other vases of the illumined class, which exhibit very little, either in the allegories depicted upon them, or in the ornaments, that can throw light upon their origin, I will proceed to notice those vessels, which in my Appendix I have ventured to term of a composite character, and of which I consider that the egg combined with the fruit of the water lily, furnished the original model.

They correspond in their general form with those vases which may be seen on the coins of Thebes, and the similarity of the handles of the two, is particularly remarkable. But I am disposed to believe, that it was the allusion made to the history of Castor and Pollux, in the paintings on these vases, which occasioned the device of the swans' heads and necks, which are

looped upon them. They direct us to the fable of Leda and her progeny, Castor and Pollux, each of whom was feigned to have sprung from an egg; hence the intention of those who manufactured vases in that fashion, is very plainly declared.

The egg of Leda being the subject of a Spartan fable, it affords ground for conjecturing, that the manufacture of these vases, which are particularly found in Apulia, and the doctrines they illustrate, must have been introduced into Magna Græcia, by Spartan colonists; for we know that Tarentum (styled by Florus "*Apuliæ totiusque Calabriæ caput,*") was taken possession of, and enlarged by the Partheniæ, under Phalanthus, after the Messenian war: this Phalanthus, therefore, was a Spartan emigrant*, and probably other settlements in that quarter were of Spartan origin.

The Dioscuri (as Castor and Pollux were termed) were particularly reverenced in the parent country. The continuance of their worship was specified in an oracle delivered to Lycurgus, to be one of the conditions on which the prosperity of their country, under the protection of Jupiter, was promised. †

These are the δαίμονες ἀντήλιοι — mentioned in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, v. 502, which are improperly explained by the Scholiast, and by Hesychius, and Eustathius, to be those gods, whose statues were exposed to the sun, or in the open air; and Potter, misled by these critics, has thus embellished their commentary;

> ——— Ye Gods,
> That to the golden sun before these gates
> Present your honoured forms.

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* He is termed Ledæan, by Martial, Ep. 28. l. 8.

† It is therefore, that the equestrian figures of the two Dioscuri, or their semioviform bonnets, surmounted by their appropriate asterisms, appear on the coins of Lacedæmon; and what is particularly to the purpose of these inquiries, one of these coins bears for its device, two vases, each enveloped by a serpent, as the

whereas the true meaning of the words is: "Gods, which, like two suns, are in opposite hemispheres?" For these twin stars, which were the real objects of adoration at Argos, (while the figures of Castor and Pollux were only poetical representations of them,) were observed at the time of their rising and setting to be, though for a very short interval of time, the one above, and the other beneath the horizon;* they were therefore styled by Æschylus, ἀντήλιο..

The rising and setting of the heavenly bodies, directed the attention of observers in early times to the correspondent vicissitudes of natural objects, and their alternate decay and reproduction; hence we may understand, what Sanchoniatho, in his Phœnician theology, intended to describe by saying; "there were certain brute animals, from which other sensible ones were generated, and they were called Zophasemin, that is, contemplators of heaven, and they were fashioned in the form of an egg:" ἦν δὲ τινα ζῶα ἐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶα νοερὰ, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφασημὶν, τὲτ' ἔςιν ἐρανοῦ κατόπ]αι, καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως (ὠοῦ) σχήματι (as the passage is corrected by Bishop Cumberland,) Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 33.; merely perhaps implying, that these lofty speculations were originally suggested by observations upon inanimate objects. But not to pursue this subject, which would lead me upon ground already too well beaten, I will observe, that agreeably with the foregoing remarks, the devices pictured on the front of the Apulian vases, are all allusive to day and life, those on the reverse to night and death. On the neck is frequently seen the chariot of Aurora, preceded by Lucifer the morning star, with a torch, and various scenes of action occur on the obverse below; while on the reverse appears Castor with his horse bearing a

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Agathodæmon, with its head extended over the brim, as if drinking; and another coin represents two such vases, on the bulb of which is impressed a serpent. — Pelerin Medailles des Peuples, et des Villes, vol. i. plate xix. fig. 42-3.

* See a good note by Ruæus in his Delphin Virgil, on v. 121. of the sixth book of the Æneid.

corslet, (the symbol of inaction) standing under the shelter of a sepulchre, while four figures surround it, bearing those *fercula* which Tournefort has described as offered even in his time in Greece, by survivors to their deceased relatives under the name of the Colyva. * Upon the handles of these vases also are masks of Medusa, as they are termed, but allusive to the disk of the full moon. The pair of disks which thus surmount the front of the vase, are invariably painted white, and the correspondent pair on the reverse, are coloured red, to represent the moon obscured in the time of an eclipse.

To such mysteries as may have been celebrated in Apulia, the titles given to the Curetes in the Orphic hymns, xxxi. and xxxviii. seem applicable. They are hailed as εὐαςῆρες, favourable stars, and τροφέες τε καὶ αὖτ' ὀλετῆρες, "by turns who cherish and "destroy." Nor need we hesitate to believe, that other astronomical speculations were there admitted respecting the movements of the planets, and their occasional deaths or obscurations, for such must be the meaning of the κρεστιλύραι, παραρρύθμοι, of Onomacritus, "who play in discords on your sounding lyres." These

* "Neuf jours après, (l'enterrement)" says Tournefort, "on envoya le colyva (κόλυβα) à l'Eglise. C'est ainsi qu'ils appellent un grand bassin de froment bouilli en grain garni d'amandes pelées, de raisins secs, de grenades, de sesame, et bordé de Basilic, ou de quelques autres plantes odoriferantes. Le milieu du bassin s'éleve en pain de sucre, surmonté d'un bouquet de fleurs artificielles, que l'on fait venir de Venise, et l'on range en Croix de Malte sur les bords du bassin quelques morceaux de sucre ou de confitures séches. Voilà ce que les Grecs appellent l'offrande du Colyva, (κολύβων προσφορὰ) établie parmi eux, pour faire souvenir les fidéles de la resurrection des morts, suivant ces paroles de Jesus Christ, en St. Jean: "En verité, en verité, je "vous le dis, si le grain de froment ne meurt après qu'on l'a jetté en terre, il demeure "seul; mais quand il est mort, il produit beaucoup de fruit." Le fossoyeur porte sur sa tête le bassin du colyva, precedé d'une personne qui tient deux gros flambeaux de bois doré garnis par étages de rubans fort larges, bordés d'une dentelle de fil de demi-pied de hauteur: Ce fossoyeur est suivi de trois personnes, l'une porte deux grandes bouteilles de vin, l'autre deux paniers de fruits, la troisiéme un tapis de Turquie, que l'on étend sur le tombeau du mort, pour y servir le colyva et la colation." — Voyages de Tournefort, vol. i. 155-6. 8vo.

discords in the harmony of the sphæres, can be understood only by reference to such phænomena. Thus also would I explain a line in a hymn to Cyrbas, one of the three Corybantes, who, I doubt not, were designed to personate the sun, moon, and earth, in the contest between which one of the three was figuratively said to be slain by the other two.

Φοίνιον, αἱμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσῶν. II. 39. v. 6. "stained "with blood, and falling by the hands of two relative celestial "bodies:" with allusion to the bloody appearance of the moon in eclipse, as also to her temporary obscuration, followed by a renovation of her light. Such I conceive to be the meaning of the combat of the three Curetes, which serves as a vignette to this chapter. It is from a Sicilian Lachrymatory, now in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq.

It was from Chaldæa, that parent of astronomical science, and of its bastard associate, astrology, that Phœnicia must have derived a taste for such speculations. It is interesting to trace them downwards through Lacedæmon to Magna Græcia, and thence to Rome itself, where these doctrines were embodied under symbols, that were publicly exhibited, but which the learned only in those times could explain. The curiosity of the subject, and the instruction to be derived from this inquiry, will, I hope, be accepted as excuse for the following digression.

OF THE ROMAN CIRCENSIAN GAMES.

The Circensian Games, originally termed Consualia*, were instituted in honor of Neptune, who was styled Consus, the god of secret counsels. That they had an astronomical and secret religious allusion is very evident, and hence we may collect the true meaning of the term *consualia.*

* They were celebrated about the 18th of August.

The principal erections in the centre of the area, and the number of the circuits performed by the chariots in the race *, denoted the solar system †, and possibly the passage through the several parts of that system, which individuals were supposed to experience in a future state; for such was the fixed hope of the more enlightened in Magna Græcia, whom Romulus professed to imitate in establishing these games; a scheme that never entered into the imagination of the vulgar.

On the spine, as it was termed, or that elevated bank between the *metæ*, was erected in the centre, one great obelisk in honour of the sun, and the spine itself was sacred to Cybele, or the earth. Upon the circular plinth at each end of the spine, were three conical obelisks called *Ova Castoris*, the eggs of Castor and Pollux‡, which obelisks were considered in the place of altars to six planets; the one group to Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars; the other to Mercury, Venus, and the Moon. The use of them in the race was this: at the completion of every circuit by the chariots round the spine, one of these obelisks was thrown down, and the whole were levelled in succession. By these means the competitors could better reckon the number of circuits made. In a mystical sense, the candidates had thus passed through each planet in succession, and the last circuit was accordingly performed round the

* The number of the circuits performed was seven.

† "Solis honore novi grati spectacula Circi
Antiqui sanxêre patres." — CORIPP. AFRICAN.

‡ Seven eggs occurred likewise on the top of a colonnade dedicated to Castor upon the spina, as also seven dolphins on a temple or colonnade dedicated to Consus. Both of these seem to be alluded to by Juvenal, Sat. 6. lib. 2. v. 588. "Consulit ante "Falas, Delphinorumque columnas." Nevertheless Vitruvius asserts that these *falæ* § were round towers, egg-shaped at top, the same as the ὠοειδῆ δημιουργήματα, *ovales fabricæ*, of Dio, which Agrippa is said to have first constructed, to mark the number of circuits made. Whether the eggs upon the colonnade, or the towers last mentioned, were the objects displaced, it is very difficult to determine. In the latter case, the cones upon the plinths of the Metæ may be understood with no great impropriety.

§ A word apparently derived from ϝαλέω, *Coacervo*, to heap up.

obelisk of the sun. It was then that the emblems of victory were conferred upon the winner; while the losers were left to pay their vows to the *Murcida Dea*, or Venus, the goddess of sloth, who for this reason had a temple dedicated to her upon the spina.

The *Ova Castoris* were sacred to the Dioscuri, the representatives of two equal portions of the universe, the higher and nether poles, the upper and lower halves of one great sphere. The rising and setting in succession of the twin stars, Castor and Pollux, by which the one was left for a while above, and the other below the horizon, a phænomenon perpetually resorted to by the ancients to illustrate the alternate rise and decay of material bodies, according to their religious speculations, was expressed by the approach of the contending charioteers to either *Meta*, as we are apprised by an ancient poet respecting these goals.

> — "Namque axes gemini ortum obitumque docent,
> Atque his Euripus, quasimagnum interjacet æquor."
>
> Twin poles, that shew how stars successive rise
> And set — 'twixt these the broad Euripus lies.

This Euripus was a later name given to the spine in the time of Nero, who filled up the Euripus or canal which bounded the circus on three sides, and had formed the security of the populace, especially when combats of wild beasts were there exhibited. The name was then transferred to the Spina. Not that any canal was ever traced in that direction, but that the course of the chariots down one side of the mound and returning on the other, was somewhat like that of the celebrated Euripus, or Strait of Eubœa, where the current, for eighteen days in every month, suffered a flux and reflux in every twenty-four hours, similar to the tide of the sea; whereas on every other day within the month, the current varied, and flowed in almost every direction. For the other ornaments of this Euripus, such as the temple of the sun, a smaller obelisk dedicated to the moon, the three altars of the Cabiri (styled *Deorum magnorum, potentium valentium*, but

which epithets are only synonyms of the word *Cabir*), the altars of the goddesses of seed-time and harvest, and preservation of crops, of fortune and victory, the branch of olive and the rest, the work of Panvinius *De Ludis Circensibus* may be seen.

Thus the Apulian mysteries were illustrated by the spectacles of the Roman Circus; but the Roman orator has supplied a much more interesting commentary upon them: — " Qui rectè " et honestè *curriculum vivendi* a naturâ datum confecerit, ad astra " facilè revertetur." — *Cicero de Universo.*

The campanulate vases, which are the most numerous of the illumined class, have almost invariably an olive wreath encompassing the vessel, immediately under the lip. From the observations made in the preceding chapter, I feel justified in viewing this as the symbol of spirit. At the bottom of the bowl of these vases is a waved line to represent water, or the Mæander, which is the known substitute for it. Between the two is the allegorical painting, which principally attracts the eye. Thus by the operation of spirit upon water, all those scenes of life and action were supposed to be produced, which are intended to be exemplified in these paintings.

I forbear at this time to enter into an explanation of the many various subjects detailed in painting on the front and reverse of the campanulate vases. It may be sufficient to say, that they generally exhibit scenes of violent and even of infuriate action, contrasted by states of inactivity and repose, of descents and returns from the shades, and of those Dioscurean races, which seem to have supplied subjects of astronomical speculation to the mystagogues of the Apulian school, on which I have digressed, perhaps, too much already. I will only particularly notice the frequent representations of figures reclining at a banquet, which are common both to this family of the illumined

class, and to the larger and later Sicilian vases. These banquets, I apprehend, point to the ultimate object of the mysteries. Certain of these vessels are occasionally introduced into the subjects of the paintings themselves; and since allusions to Dionysiac revels are frequent upon them, the vessels deposited in tombs may with equal propriety be supposed to bear allusion to wine, as to oil, the former having been almost as much as the latter, of mystic import. In a very interesting pamphlet of Mr. Iorio, entitled *Scheletri Cumani* (the possession of which I owe to his politeness,) wherein he describes the contents of a tomb discovered at Cuma, which he had himself examined, the paintings on the walls of three distinct chambers are said to have represented,—1. A dance of three skeletons,—2. A scene in the Elysian fields,—and 3. A banquet.— Supposing with this accomplished antiquary, that this had been the tomb of a celebrated dancer, and that these paintings alluded to her destiny after her death, I should say, that the third of them marked her admission, as a guest at the banquet represented, and not for the purpose of entertaining, by a display of her talent, the guests already there assembled. But even if this representation should be accepted in the lower sense, the scene may nevertheless be understood to exhibit the eventual happy state.

Let us hear what the Athenian comic poet hath advanced on this subject. In his Comedy of the Frogs, (for many serious expressions may be collected from among the ribaldry in which he indulged,) he has thus marked the happy end of a favorite dramatic poet:

ΗΡ. Ἀγάθων δὲ ποῦ ϛιν; ΔΙ. Ἀπολιπών μ' ἀποίχεται.
* * * * * * *
ΗΡ. Ποῖ γῆς ὁ τλήμων; ΔΙ. Ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν.
Ran. 83. 5.

H. But where is Agatho? D. He has left me and is gone.
H. Whither poor fellow? D. To the banquet of the Blessed.

The absence of painted *fictilia* from the Cuman sepulchre examined by Mr. Iorio, prevents me supposing that the deceased had enjoyed the benefit of initiation. But a similar degree of felicity with that which initiation, it was supposed, would have secured, seems to have been thus implied for her, by the benevolence of those who constructed and decorated the tomb.

But if Eleusis be the quarter where a complete elucidation of these recondite subjects is to be obtained, let us proceed thither, and ascertain, in the first place, what one of the best informed among the ancients has made known respecting them. He presents indeed an appalling spectacle; but in prosecuting this enquiry, I trust I may be able to advance without indulging in improper curiosity, and that my researches will be directed to a laudable end.

CHAP. IV.

*An Exposure of the Mysteries by Clemens Alexandrinus.**

——— " WHAT if I enumerate your mysteries? I will not make a jest of them, as Alcibiades is said to have done, but lay bare, in the words of truth, the impostures they envelope. And I will call upon the stage your gods, as you term them, to whom these mysteries belong, and exhibit them to the spectators such as they truly are in their lives and actions. The Bacchanals perform their orgies to Dionysus Mænoles, and indulge their frenzy by devouring raw flesh. They crown themselves with serpents, while they solemnly divide the slaughtered kid, and howl out the name of Eua; that Eve, by whom came error, and its sequel, death. The mystic serpent is the symbol of the Bacchic orgies: now, according to the true Hebrew meaning of the word, if Eua be pronounced with the strong aspirate, *Heva*, it denotes a female serpent.

" Ceres and Proserpine are now become a mystic drama, and Eleusis illustrates with torches the wanderings, the rape, and the grief, of the one and the other. And, in my opinion, we ought to deduce the words, orgies and mysteries, the one from ὀργῆς, the rage of Ceres against Jupiter, and the other from μύσας, the filthy catastrophe that befel Dionysus. Or, if you would rather derive this from one Mesuns of Attica, who perished in the chase, I will not envy you your having recourse to sepulchral terms and rites, to recommend your mysteries to public opinion. You

* From the 3d chap. of the 2d book of Eusebius's Preparation for the Gospel.

may consider these mysteries, too, in another sense, as *Mytheria* or savage rites, for the letters in the one word and the other nearly correspond. For, whatever may be the effect produced by other fables, such as these have degraded and rendered equally savage the wild Thracians, the silly Phrygians, and superstitious Greeks. Perish then the man who first prompted others to these absurdities! whether it was Dardanus, who taught the mysteries of Cybele, the mother of the gods, or Eetion, who founded the Samothracian orgies and initiatory rites, or that Phrygian Midas, who learnt them from Orpheus of Odrysa, and afterwards delivered the ingenious fraud to those who were influenced by him. For that islander, Cinyras of Cyprus, shall never make a convert of me, however he may dare to drag from under cover of the night the lascivious orgies of Venus, and expose them in open day; and however ambitious he may be to deify a compatriot strumpet. Others affirm, that Melampus the son of Amythaon brought the festivals of Ceres from Egypt into Greece, making her grief the subject of his hymns. I would term them all the wicked authors of atheistical fables, the fathers of a pernicious superstition, who, by introducing the mysteries, sowed the seeds of sin and perdition in human life and manners. Nay, but (having fair occasion) I will convince you that your orgies are full of lying wonders: and if ye be of the Initiated, the greater reason shall ye have to hold their accredited fables in derision. I will openly proclaim these hidden rites; for why should I blush to name what you are not ashamed to reverence? Well, then, that froth-sprung Cyprian of whom Cinyras is so fond, I mean that Venus who delights in obscene members, she sprung from such, even from those of which Uranus was deprived by amputation, which after excision offered violence to the waves. Her conduct betrays her origin. She is represented in your mysteries as the fruit of these marine pleasures; for a lump of salt is there the symbol of generation. The phallus instructs the Initiated in the arts of adultery, and the

Mystæ present a piece of coin to her, as a paramour would to his mistress. The mysteries of Ceres consist in Jupiter having pleasurable connection with his mother Ceres, and in the anger of Ceres, respecting whom I know not whether I am henceforth to term her his mother or his wife. It is on this account she is said to have the name of Brimo assigned to her. Jupiter's methods of appeasing her are, a cup of gall, a tearing out of the heart, and other actions that are never spoken of. These are what the Phrygians celebrate as rites to Attys, Cybelle, and the Corybantes. There is a famous saying among them, that Jupiter castrated a goat, and threw what he had torn away from it into Ceres's bosom; thus figuratively implying the punishment he himself deserved for the violence she had suffered from him. The symbols of this initiation, when exposed at length, I know will excite your laughter, although from my damning arguments I fancy you will be little disposed to merriment. 'I have eaten out of the tambourine.' — 'I have drunk out of the cymbal.'— 'I have carried the mystic salver.' * — 'I have slipt into the bed.'

"Are not these symbols mere wantonness? These mysteries, are they not a farce? Need I produce the rest? Ceres becomes pregnant, Proserpine is reared, and then again, Jupiter, who begat her, has connection with his own daughter, Proserpine, notwithstanding his knowledge of her mother Ceres. He forgets his former profligacy, and embraces her in the form of a serpent, and is afterwards detected. The god, under this form received into the bosoms of the Initiated, is a symbol in the Sabazian Mysteries. Their drawing the serpent through their bosom is a proof of

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* Ἐκερνοφόρησα. — The κέρνος, according to Athenæus, was a dish of earthenware, having several cotylisci, or one-handled cups fastened upon it. Examples of it sometimes occur in collections of the painted Greek pottery.

Jupiter's incontinence, and Proserpine conceives a child in the form of a bull; for thus some Pagan poet says: —

> 'The bull, a dragon's sire, is yet of serpent breed —
> A mystic goad the mountain herdsman bears.'

The herdsman's goad that he here speaks of, I suppose, must be the ferule, which the Bacchanals whirl with a string.

"And shall I relate to you the story of Proserpine gathering flowers, the basket, and the rape of her by Pluto, the yawning chasm, and the swine of Eubuleus that were swallowed up with the goddesses? On which account they drive away their swine at the time of the Thesmophoria, as is the custom at Megara. This fable is celebrated by the women with various festivals, in various towns, under the names of Thesmophoria, Skirrophoria, and Arrhetophoria, all which are different kinds of lamentation for the rape of Proserpine.

"But the mysteries of Bacchus are perfectly inhuman. Him, when yet an infant, while the armed Curetes were dancing round him in martial movements, the Titans treacherously stole away, enticing him with childish amusements, and they tore him in pieces. As the Thracian Orpheus, the poet of the mysteries, says: —

> 'The top, the hoop, and many an idle toy,
> Sports, which the supple limbs of youth employ:
> Apples, that glow Hesperian woods among,
> The golden fruit of eloquence and song.'

And it may be worth my while to hold up to execration the worthless symbols of this particular initiation. They are the dice, the ball, the whirligig, apples, the hoop, the mirror, and the fleece.

"Minerva, who conveyed away by stealth the heart of Dionysus, was called Pallas, from πάλλειν, because it palpitated. But

the Titans, who tore him in pieces, set a cauldron upon its tripod stand, and threw into it the limbs of Bacchus. They boiled them first, and then fixing them upon flesh-hooks, '*they suspended them over Hephæstus*;' in other words, they held them over the fire. Jupiter making his appearance afterwards, for being a god he presently scented the savoury steams from the roasted flesh (for this, your gods confess, is the honourable portion that falls to their share), he struck the Titans with lightning, and entrusted the limbs of Bacchus to his son Apollo, to bury them. Apollo disobeyed not, but taking the mangled corpse to Parnassus, deposited it there.

"Would you like to have an insight into the orgies of the Corybantes? They slew their third brother, covered the head of his corpse with a purple cloth, and encircled it with a chaplet, and, bearing it on a brazen shield, they buried it at the foot of Mount Olympus. And these are their mysteries, which may be compendiously styled murders and entombments.

"The priests of these mysteries (termed by those who take a concern in these things ἀιακτοτελέςαι, Kings of the Perfectory Rites) add a further wonder to this calamity, by forbidding the parsley plant and root to be produced upon the table; for they believe that parsley sprang up from the blood that flowed out of the wounds of the Corybas, just as the women, in the feast of the Thesmophoria, abstain from eating pomegranate seeds; for they imagine that these sprouted from the blood of Dionysus, that dropped upon the ground. But as they style the Corybantes, Cabirs, so do they term this the Cabiric Initiation. For the two who slew their brother, taking up the chest in which the member of Dionysus was deposited, brought it into Etruria, and truly they were the importers of a precious freight! There these runaways took up their abode, and imparted their valuable lessons in religion to the Etrurians, by proposing to them the member and chest as objects for worship. For this reason some will have it, and very

justly, that the emasculate Bacchus was entitled Attis. And where is the wonder that the barbarous Etrurians should be initiated into such disgraceful vices, when the Athenians, and the rest of Greece, I blush to speak it, recount fables about Ceres quite as immodest as these? For Ceres, wandering in search of her daughter Proserpine, suffered fatigue in the neighbourhood of Eleusis (this is a district in Attica), and she seated herself upon a well, absorbed in grief. The Initiated, therefore, are still warned away from it, lest those who are *perfected* should seem to imitate her sorrow. Certain natives of the district, inhabitants of Eleusis at that time, were named Baubo, Dysaules, Triptolemus, Eumolpus, and Eubuleus. Triptolemus was a herdsman, Eumolpus a shepherd, and Eubuleus a swineherd. From these sprang the family of the Eumolpidæ, and that of the heralds, who exhibit the mysteries. And Baubo, for I will not mince the matter, receiving Ceres hospitably, reached to her the cup of mixture, called Cyceon. But Ceres refusing to take it, and not disposed for the draught, for she was overcome with grief, Baubo was exceedingly vexed, thinking herself slighted by it, she thereupon uncovered herself, and exposed her nakedness to the goddess. Ceres was entertained with the sight, and could scarcely take the beverage, so much was she amused with the exhibition. These are the hidden mysteries of the Athenians. These Orpheus, too, has recorded. But I will cite the very verses of Orpheus, that you may have this mystagogue for a witness of their immodesty: —

> 'Thus Baubo spake — her robe she upward drew,
> Her limbs, and all her shame, exposed to view.
> The goddess push'd Iacchus from her side,
> Full on the dame: the boy a veil supplied.
> She took the cup of mixture as she smiled,
> Laugh'd in her heart, and thus her care beguiled.'

And this is the conventional sign in the Eleusinian Mysteries. 'I have fasted. I have drunk the Cyceon. I have taken from the chest. I have performed my task. I have put into the basket, and have returned it from the basket into the chest.' A pretty exhibition this! and mightily becoming a goddess! Your perfectory rites well deserve night and fire, and are worthy of the high-minded, shall I not rather say the frivolous, people who boast their descent from Erectheus, worthy too of all the other Greeks, whom there awaiteth after death what they little dream of.

"For to whom doth Heraclitus, the Ephesian, prophesy? To the Night-Assemblers, Magians, Bacchanals, Vintage-Revellers, and the Initiated. To these he threatens what may be expected after death. To these he predicts burnings. For these impious mysteries, however sanctioned by the laws, in whatever sense they may be commonly accepted, are mysteries of *the old* Serpent, the worship of a lie by men who, from a spurious devotion, turn to these profane initiations, and to perfectory rites, that lead to any thing but perfection.

"And what are the mystic chests? for I must even lay bare their holy contents, and speak out what is suppressed in silence. What are these but sesame, and pyramids, and balls of wool, and cakes with many knobs, and heaps of salt, and a serpent, the mad instrument of Dionysus Basarus? what but pomegranates, and with these pith, ferules, and ivy, cheesecakes, and poppies? These are their holy things! The symbols of Themis, too, about which they observe secrecy, are marjoram, a lamp, a sword, and the shell, which is only a decent but mystic word for the female organ. O barefaced shame! Formerly, when men had a sense of modesty, the silence of the night drew a veil over their pleasures. But now that they are admitted to initiation, the night, devoted to intemperance, talks aloud of it; and while the torches

glare upon your wickednesses, they warn you of the fire they merit. Out with your fire, O Hierophant! Torch-bearer, shame on your torches! The very light reproves your Iacchus; for it would persuade you to consign your mysteries of the night to darkness. Be your orgies nevertheless respected. Fire is no hypocrite. It argues for your condemnation and punishment. These are the mysteries of atheists. For it is fair to term those atheists who know not Him who is really God, but who, glorying in their shame, worship a child torn to pieces by the Titans, and the sorrowings of a woman, and members which modesty, in truth, forbids to mention. Thus are they implicated in a two-fold charge of atheism: first, of being ignorant of God, since they do not acknowledge the true one; secondly, by this their error, of considering those who are not, as if they were, and giving them the names of gods, whereas they not only are not such, but are mere nonentities, or nothing but a name."

CHAP. V.

Of the Scenery of the Eleusinian Mysteries. — The Paintings on the Greek Vases copied from them. — Eastern Illuminations and the Eleusinian Shows compared.

THIS picture of the mysteries is sufficiently disgusting and offensive, and the grossness of the symbols noticed by the author of it, forbids us to consider the drawing overcharged. But there is an ancient proverb, "*Eleusis servat, quod ostendat revisentibus*," which may induce us to conclude that those who were admitted to these shows were not obliged to witness a repetition of the same fables, but were entertained with a perpetual variety. It is fair then to imagine that less objectionable means for explaining the doctrines of the temple were sometimes resorted to, and that it may be possible to continue these researches, and to illustrate the object of them by what may be innocently brought before the eye of the reader. We will consider, then, what information can be gathered from other ancient writers on this interesting subject, which has been thoroughly sounded by various critics, and by none more copiously treated than by Meursius and Bishop Warburton. They have determined the time of the celebration of the mysteries, and they have enumerated the priests, and assigned to each his proper office and attire. They have prepared the great temple or theatre, with its artificial thunder, lightning, and necessary decorations. The mystæ, introduced in the dark, have taken their

seats, and wait with trembling expectation for the opening of the mysteries. But it is from the compendious essay of the Baron de Ste. Croix, that I shall select a brief notice of the spectacle that succeeded.

" L'aspirant y entendoit différentes voix, selon Dion Chry-
" sostôme ; la lumiere et les ténébres affectoient alternativement
" ses sens ; à peine pouvoit-il considérer la multiplicité des objets.
" Les principaux étoient des fantômes, ayant la figure de chien et
" diverses formes monstrueuses, que le bruit de la foudre et des
" éclairs rendoient encore plus terribles. De-là naissoient ces fré-
" missements, ces terreurs, ces saisissements, ces sueurs, qui font
" comparer, par Plutarque, l'état d'un initié à celui d'un mou-
" rant."—P. 214.

And further : — " On faisoit alors paroître la statue de la
" Déesse frottée avec soin, ornée avec goût, et revêtue de ses plus
" beaux habits. Elle paroissoit resplendissante d'une clarté divine*,
" par des reflets de lumiere qu'on savoit artistement ménager." —
P. 215.

" Le Sanctuaire d'Eleusis étoit l'endroit que la Divinité
" toute entière remplissoit dans ce moment ; les ténébres se dissi-
" poient aussi-tôt ; l'ame sortoit de l'abyme ; et on passoit de la
" plus grande obscurité, dans une clarté douce, et sous un ciel
" serein. Des prairies, où l'on entendoit des chœurs et des
" discours sacrés, et ou l'on étoit frappé par la vue de *fantômes*
" *saints*, recevoient les initiés. — Ils étoient déclarés *Epoptes* après
" ce spectacle." — *Ibid.*

These shadows flitting across the stage, the monsters half man

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* So Themistius : — Ὁπότε δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος, ἀναπετάσας τὰ προπύλαια τοῦ νεὼ, καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας περιστείλας τοῦ ἀγάλματος καλλύνας τε αὐτὸ, καὶ ἀποσμήξας πανταχόθεν, ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ μυουμένῳ μαρμαρύσσον τε ἤδη, καὶ αὐγῇ καταλαμπόμενον θεσπεσίᾳ, ἥτε ὁμίχλη ἐκείνη, καὶ τὸ νέφος ἀθρόον ὑπερρήγνυτο, καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο ὁ νοῦς ἐκ τοῦ βάθους, φέγγους ἀνάπλεως καὶ ἀγλαΐας, ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον σκότου. — Orat. xx. *ad Patrem*, p. 235. Ed. Hard.

half beast, the brilliant appearance of the goddess illumined by reflected lights (thrown, perhaps, from mirrors, "qu'on savoit ar-"tistement ménager"), and the holy phantoms which succeeded, induce me to think that the spectacle could not have differed much from the well-known *Ombres Chinoises**, or the Eidouranion of our scientific countryman, Mr. Walker; since it is highly probable, that it consisted of various subjects displayed in transparency. The expression of Clement of Alexandria seems to confirm this opinion: —Ἄξια μὲν οὖν ΝΥΚΤΟΣ, τὰ τελέσματα, καὶ ΠΥΡΟΣ, καὶ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος, μᾶλλον δὲ ματαιόφρονος Ἐρεχθειδῶν δήμου†; "Worthy of "nightly celebration, by exhibitions of fire-light, &c.;" although by Night and Fire this Father likewise meant to stigmatise the shamefulness of these shows, and to express his detestation of them.

I find even Passeri‡ is inclined to this opinion, for struck with the Orphic appellation of Bacchus, θνητοῖσι φανείς, "appearing "in splendour to mortals," he has remarked, "quod præcipuè "Bacchus ipse totus igneus et fulgidus adpareret, qui nudis oculis "tolerari non posset" (vol. iii. p. 19.); and he has elsewhere suggested of the Bacchanalia, "Fortasse impostores illi ope machi-"narum, cum popellus vino æstuaret, imaginem aliquam credulis "objiciebant." And it is far from improbable, that some such delirium, as mentioned by Passeri, was produced by a draught of the κυκεών, or cup of mixed liquors, in which poppies were a chief

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* The following account of the manner in which these exhibitions are conducted is taken from Beckmann's "History of Inventions," vol. iii. p. 335. "This ingenious amusement consists in moving, by pegs fastened to them, small figures, cut of pasteboard, the joints of which are all pliable, behind a piece of fine painted gauze, placed before an opening in a curtain, in such a manner as to exhibit various scenes, according to pleasure; while the opening covered with gauze is illuminated, towards the apartment where the spectators sit, by means of light reflected back by a mirror, so that the shadows of the pegs are concealed."

† Protrept p. 18.

‡ Passeri de Picturis Hetrusc. in Vasculis, vol. iii. p. xxxii.

ingredient. This was presented to each mysta before the shows began, and might have contributed more to that confusion of the intellects, than the awful appearance of the objects exhibited.

We may hence, I think, collect the real nature of these shows. They probably were transparencies, of which the subjects are faithfully preserved upon what have been termed Etruscan vases. These scenes may be readily supposed to have consisted, either of a dark superficies, in which transparent figures were placed, and hence those vases with red figures upon a black ground, or of opaque figures moved behind a transparent canvas, and hence those earlier vases with black figures upon a red ground.*

It is thus, that in a celebrated feast of the Chinese, the lanterns displayed are not only ornamented with paintings, but are made further interesting by certain small figures cut out, and ingeniously moved upon the side. But a stronger resemblance to these supposed exhibitions at Eleusis may be found in Sir T. Stamford Raffles's History of Java, wherein a favourite amusement of the natives is described, consisting of figures formed of buffalo's hide, cut out, and moved behind a transparent curtain. A reciter, in the meanwhile delivers to the audience passages from the B'rata Yúdha, and other sacred poems, which illustrate the action of the drama. This accomplished and distinguished

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* In the former class of paintings, a luminous interval sometimes marks the contour, occurring between the hair and other parts expressed in shadow and the ground of the vase. In these another contrivance may also be occasionally observed. In the 82d plate, in the 1st vol. of D'Hancarville's work on Vases, certain parts of the painting are candescent, like a firework, or the electric spark. This effect was probably produced by perforating the transparent scene, and applying the flame of a lamp behind the canvas so punctured. In the earlier class, many projecting parts of the figures, such as the feet, and the points of their bonnets, are elongated to an extraordinary degree. These seem to be the shadows of solid substances lengthened, in consequence of the lamps, by which the scene was lighted, being accidentally removed to too great a distance from the figures.

orientalist brought home with him, and has deposited in this country, the complete apparatus of these Indian Lantoccini. *

It is to be regretted that those who have visited China, have communicated but scanty information respecting the annual exhibition of transparencies in that country. Mr. Boulanger, in his *Antiquité devoilée par ses Usages*, has reported that the Chinese derive the Feast of Lanterns from a Mandarin (*Peirun*) whose daughter perished in a river, and from his seeking her by torch-light. (Tom. iii. p. 51. 8vo.) He compares this Mandarin and his daughter, to Ceres and Proserpine; and adds, it is for those who have acquaintance with the Chinese language, to seek in the etymology of their names, whether his conjecture be well founded. This festival is held in February, soon after the opening of the new year. The sign Aquarius is accordingly termed in the Chinese language, the Resurrection of the Spring. (Vol. iii. p. 167.)

The number of the learned to whom Mr. Boulanger appeals, must necessarily be very limited. Accordingly, until some Sinologist shall be found, who may confirm or disprove his comparison, I offer the following illustration of the Chinese festival from observations made nearer home; and from this the reader shall draw his own conclusions.

At Dunkerque, about the Feast of St. Martin, or between the 4th and the 11th of November, boys go about with paper lanterns, variously fashioned and painted, and blow children's trumpets. They assemble in the great square at evening, and, dividing into parties, parade the different quarters of the town. It is there supposed, that the custom originated in a woman having lost her child, who was drowned in the canal, and in the people of the

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* See the engraving in Sir T. Stamford Raffles's History of Java, vol. i. p. 336, 337. 4to.

town assisting in the search for her with lanterns.* If it could be supposed that this practice were a Romish ceremony, designed to commemorate the victory of Gideon over the Midianites, with lamps and trumpets, it will nevertheless be extremely difficult to account for the popular tradition of the inhabitants of Dunkerque, who, probably, have never much turned their thoughts either to the Eleusinian Mysteries, or to the Chinese Feast of Lanterns.

The Chinese and the Japanese may be reasonably supposed to have received many traditions from one common origin. Dr. Kæmpfer seems to bring us near to the source of the one we are now considering, by the following account of a Japanese custom: He says, "on the 8th of August, there was another festival called "*Bon.* People on that occasion attend for one whole night at the "tombs of their ancestors and relations, with lights and lanterns. "The solemnity of this festival began upon the 7th, and lasted for "three days together. They believe that the souls of deceased "persons, whether they led a good or a bad life, walk about, and "visit the places of their former abode."—*Hist. of Japan*, p. 563.

We may thus be led to conclude, that all those Pagan festivals which were celebrated by illuminations, whether of lamps or torches, were designed to illustrate the doctrine of the soul's immortality. One of the most interesting of these (the Lampadophoria) was held at Athens in honour of Minerva, Prometheus, and Hephæstus; and as there is reason to suspect that a similar race formed a part of the Eleusinia, it may be properly noticed here. It consisted of a race, on foot or on

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* Such is the vulgar report. The more knowing attempt to explain it as a recollection of the inhabitants going out at night to welcome the champion Martin, on his return from conquering the Saracens. But Martin of Tours died A. D. 400. The Moors did not enter France until 721; and Dunkerque was founded by Count Baldwin, not earlier than 966. But possibly I may be attaching more importance to this popular ceremony than it may really deserve.

horseback, during which the lamp or torch was passed from youth to youth; and if in the hand of any one who received it, the flame of it were extinguished, such a one lost his privilege of partaking further in the sport. Lucretius assures us that this torch denoted the lamp of life, — "Et quasi cursores, vitaï lampada tradunt" (lib. ii. v. 78.); and we may add, that the passing of it from hand to hand denoted the transition of the animating principle through the circle of various bodies, according to the doctrine of the Metempsychosis.

A notable allusion to this occurs in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, where the communication of the news of the capture of Troy, by telegraphic signals of torches on the several heights between Troy and Argos, is compared to the Lampadophoria; such, says Clytemnestra, are the regulations of the game: to which she adds, with cutting sarcasm, but in obscure terms, Νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών (v. 315. Ed. Porson.); "Yes, he, Agamemnon, "who has conquered Ilium, will indeed be winner, if he who first "handed to me the torch (of intelligence) shall eventually receive "back from me the torch (of life)." For it is necessary to understand that the course was circular, and the manœuvre must have been incomplete until the torch had been handed back to him who had first thrown it.

The vignette prefixed to the first chapter of this work, copied from an antique bas relief to be seen in the wall of a temple, which the venerable Earl of Besborough erected in the pleasure grounds of his villa at Roehampton, as the Temple of Virtue and Honour, to receive the busts of different worthies, is from a Roman funeral monument, which does not exactly describe the Lampadophoria, but approaches thus near to them, that while the youths are running to a sepulchre, one of the two infants behind them, designed to personate the Dioscuri, those alternate arbiters of life and death, inverts his torch, by way of indicating the purport of the foot-race.

Captain Turner has informed us*, that in those illuminations which are made in the East on the 29th of October, if the flame be extinguished, it is considered a most evil omen; the cause of which is to be explained from the Athenian festival, which was held in the Potter's way, where similar mismanagement among the youths who ran, was deemed equally unfortunate. We now discover the origin and meaning of those illuminations so frequent in the East, as during the Dewali, in Hindostan, which falls soon after the autumnal equinox†: for, as the sun about that time goes down into the lower hemisphere, these illuminations anticipate the return of his light; and this festival is accordingly held in honour of the dead, to whom, as at Eleusis, was indicated a similar return from the shades. Even that autumnal feast, the Mullaum in Bootan, and the correspondent Durga Poojah of the Hindus, though now appearing to present a moral scenic exhibition, it may be presumed had once, at least, a different meaning. The first of these, we are informed, is celebrated during ten days.‡ What then forbids our comparing its spirit and meaning with the Eleusinian Mysteries, which lasted nearly an equal number? The Durga Poojah, we are told, consists in the display of a gaudy scene, with Durga and various figures in alto relief, loaded with tinsel and other ornaments. At the close of the exhibition it is conducted to the Ganges, to the waves of which it is committed with due solemnity. Who does not here discover a counterpart to the ornamented statue of the goddess in the temple at Eleusis, "frottée avec soin, ornée avec goût, et revêtue de ses plus beaux "habits," as described by the Baron de Ste. Croix? Whence we may possibly be furnished with a solution of that expression upon

* Embassy to Tibet, p. 318.

† The Dussera is celebrated on the first full moon after the autumnal equinox; the Dewali on the new moon following. Turner's Embassy, p. 163.

‡ Embassy to Tibet, p. 162.

which Meursius exercised his ingenuity with much felicity: — ΑΛΑΔΕ ΜΥΣΤΑΙ, "To the sea, O Mystæ!" which gave the name to a particular day of the Mysteries.

Thus, have exhibitions by fire-light, though varied according to the ingenuity of different nations, been adopted as the means of inculcating the same religious opinions and the same consolatory hopes to the inhabitants of eastern Asia and Greece; and, as I presume from my conclusions respecting the painted furniture of the tombs in Magna Græcia, to those of Lower Italy, also. It may be almost in vain to enquire, what hath broken the connecting links between these distant parts of the globe, or to seek to determine the origin of this common practice. I will content myself with regarding Eleusis as the general focus of information on these subjects to the several districts of eastern and southern Europe, and consider the paintings upon the ancient earthen-ware, as records, still extant, of the instruction formerly conveyed by the Mysteries.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Lesser and the Greater Mysteries. — The Vase and the Lantern comparatively considered as Symbols. — Various other Symbols explained. — Use of the Intaglio. — The Descent of Bacchus, under different characters, ad Inferos; *his Voyage over the Styx, and Reascent, exhibited as a mystical Drama, in a Succession of transparent Scenes, selected chiefly from antique Gems.*

WHAT has hitherto been discovered of the Mysteries seems rather calculated to excite, than to satisfy curiosity. Much is yet wanting to complete the view; and it is from ancient monuments of art that we must derive our information; for it is scarcely to be expected, that many new hints on this subject will be collected from a further critical examination of the writers of antiquity. The recent brilliant discoveries of our countrymen have manifested the utility of examining such monuments. The topography of Eleusis has been illustrated by their labours, the great temple has been actually recomposed and delineated by their skill; and with a degree of success which the excellent professor*, now no more, could scarcely have anticipated, when he led the way, by transporting the colossal half-figure of the Eleusinian Ceres from Greece to the public library of his university at Cambridge. The present attempt must be limited to considering what may have been performed in the interior

* Dr. Edward D. Clarke.

of that building, which our learned and scientific countrymen have restored by a very wonderful synthesis. The success of these conjectures will entirely depend on the degree of probability with which, in the judgment of the reader, the ancient monuments which have been resorted to will be applied.

It will be difficult, however, to meet the expectations that may have been raised by the passages brought into one point of view, from various authors, lately cited.

Of the original exhibitions it is said, that the fables on which they were grounded were highly ingenious and pleasing; and that in the course of them the ear was no less delighted than the eye. Much of this is irrecoverably lost; for, to adopt an expression of Aristides, in his rhetorical complaint on the conflagration of the temple: — "What Eleusinian Æschylus will "now furnish a vocal accompaniment to the chorus?"

The Mysteries were twofold; the lesser and the greater; the former, celebrated once a-year, in the month Anthesterion, at Agra, near the Ilissus; the latter, also annually, but in the month Boedromion, at Eleusis. The lesser seem to have been devised, from a political reason, to prevent the necessity of admitting foreigners to the whole of the ceremonies, or of offending them by a total exclusion: probably also to relieve the initiators from a part of their preparatory labours, thus leaving them more free to receive the multitudes which thronged to witness the exhibitions in the Eleusinium. It is probable that the initiation at Agra, which was introduced by purifications, consisted chiefly in the explanation of symbols, and in some general instruction respecting their doctrines. The Mystæ, provided with this information, when afterwards they were admitted into the temple at Eleusis, would anticipate the meaning of the inferior parts of the illumined paintings; and much trouble would consequently be saved to the Hierophant. In imitation of this practice, I will

offer, in the first place, a few words respecting two symbols, of which a clear explanation is necessary for establishing the comparison I mean to draw between the lantern and the vase. The origin of the forms of the latter, as I am about to deduce them from different kinds of the water lily*, will I hope suffice to show, that the vase was a symbol of water and of humid nature, or rather of the creation of terrestrial objects from water. The wine contained in the amphora was supposed to indicate that animating principle which, infused into the various parts of the creation, gave life and support to the whole. When the lively imagination of the Greeks had embodied the objects of their religious speculations under the personifications of their mythology, Bacchus became the representative of this general system of nature, and the vase was retained as a symbol of his properties. The engravings shortly to be adduced, will show that the lantern was also viewed as a substitute for the vase.

It was, however, with a very different view from this, that I had embellished my title-page with the Allegory of the Lantern, as it is represented in an antique paste in the Townley Cabinet; and I had scarcely imagined it could have been necessary to *initiate* any reader into the meaning of two quotations there subjoined. But a monthly critic, who, in other respects, displayed far more indulgence to the errors in my original unpublished essay on this subject than I had a right to expect, expressed himself dissatisfied with the liberty I had taken, by citing part of a line of Onomacritus, and a passage from the Roman Questions of Plutarch. But, by the former I merely declared my hope of being able to throw light upon a very obscure subject, and to treat certain parts of it with delicacy. By the latter I meant

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* See the Appendix.

not (as the critic supposed) to illustrate, in that place, the descent of Bacchus to the shades, but to show that these allegories of the Greeks, expressed in their sculptured remains, had a metaphysical meaning, and pointed, as in this instance, to the soul's immortality.

It is true, that this extract from a memorandum of Plutarch respected the Augural Lamp of the Romans, which was kept uncovered, to denote that omens by the flight of birds ought only to be taken in serene weather. But Plutarch suggests, that the lantern was one of the many obscure intimations or enigmas made use of by the ancients; and he adds, "*For "the lamp answers to the body containing the soul. The soul within "is the light.*" I trust, therefore, I have made no unfair application of the commentary of Plutarch.

This, also, may be the proper place to notice other symbols mentioned by Clemens, which appear as detached parts of the paintings on Greek vases, such as the τολύπη, a ball of wool in the hands of females, probably denoting the thread of life which is not yet spun; and the *Gutta*, signifying the principle of fecundity contained in it, and this may account for sesame being recorded as a mysterious seed, namely, from the oil which it produces; oil being accepted as a principle of fertility. The pyramid was a similar emblem with flame and the phallus. It was probably a cake of a pyramidal form. Salt is expressly declared by Clemens to have been symbolical of generation. * The serpent is a well-known emblem. The pomegranate was used as a vivifying gift, because its contents were supposed to represent the seeds of existence. Καρδίαι, or hearts, may have been merely the heart or

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* Ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ταύτης — τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς ἁλῶν χόνδρος, καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς μυουμένοις . . . . ἐπιδίδοται. — *Clem. Alex. Protrept.* p. 13. Ed. Potter.

pith of the ferule *, which was used as a slow match for retaining fire, as Prometheus is feigned to have concealed this in the heart, or within the stem, of that plant. Anethum, a plant of soporiferous quality, was used for forming an arbour over the couch of Adonis. Ivy always denotes the shades, and is proper to Bacchus *in inferis;* it had, therefore, a place in night festivals, such as the Agrionia and Nyctelia. It appears on a vase of marble in the collection of Charles Blundell, Esq., of Ince, curiously contrasted with the vine. The front of this oval vase is incrusted with the latter, and the other half of it with the ivy; and as the vase is, generally speaking, the emblem of Bacchus, so in this instance we view him in his double capacity, designated by appropriate symbols, as the Day and the Night Sun. The cheese and corn cake, noticed by Clemens among the mystic symbols, may possibly have been such, wherein the grain was preserved entire; for whatever contained seeds, was deemed by the ancients symbolical of generation and life. The poppy-head had its use in the mysteries, for the same reason. The somniferous qualities of it, enforced the idea of quiescence, but the seeds were emblematical of existence, and seemed to show that however the powers of nature might be suspended, they had

* The νάρθηξ, or ferule, is thus described by Tournefort: "Ferula glauco folio, caule crassissimo, ad singulos nodos ramoso, et umbellifero. Elle porte une tige de cinque pieds de haut, épaisse d'environ trois pouces, noueüse, ordinairement de dix pouces en dix pouces, branchue à chaque nœud, couverte d'une écorce assez dure de deux lignes d'épaisseur: le creux de cette tige est rempli d'une möelle blanche, qui étant bien sèche prend feu tout comme la mêche; ce feu s'y conserve parfaitement bien, et ne consume que peu à peu la möelle sans endommager l'écorce; ce qui fait qu'on se sert de cette plante pour porter du feu d'un lieu à un autre; nos matelots en firent provision."— *Voyages de Tournefort*, vol. i. p. 290, 291. It is the Ferula orientalis which is here alluded to. But I apprehend that in ancient sculptures the Heraclium giganteum (also an umbelliferous plant) is substituted for the ferula, on account of the more picturesque form of its leaves. The stem of the Heraclium is deeply scored.

nevertheless a capability of being called into an active state. It would be fatiguing the patience of the reader, to discuss these trifles more at length, nor do I feel confident of being able to explain them to my entire satisfaction. The dissimilar casts, however, of the *Astragali* might express the alternate operations of the Dioscuri. Priapeid figures of diminutive bronze, punctured with the number of the casts, so as to answer the purpose of Astragali, have been found in tombs; and two such were preserved in the Townley Cabinet. The hoop and the whirligig, or top, might denote a revolution *; the mirror might present the *Simulachrum animæ*, for which Servius may be consulted upon those words in the Æneid, lib. iv. v. 654., "*sub terras ibit imago.*"† The fleece might be subjected to the same explanation as the τολύπη, or ball of wool; nor may it be deemed too wild a conjecture, if I suggest, that the golden apples, which were gathered amongst the vocal Hesperides, were to be sought, not according to Gesner, among the orange groves of Portugal, but in the interior of Asia, from which, perhaps, they were imported with those *Chaldæa miracula*, which were admitted into the theology of the Greeks, as I believe is hinted by Martianus Capella. On more than one vase, published in the collections of Passeri and D'Hancarville, a serpent appears entwined round a tree loaded with such fruit; and the apple is accordingly a vivifying symbol.

After these prefatory explanations, it is time that I hasten to the spectacles, of which my readers are to be *Epoptæ*, I will, therefore, adduce a few scenes, which may serve to exemplify the general argument of the dramas exhibited at Eleusis, whether

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* The intelligent narrator of his Embassy to Tibet pleasantly informed us; upon a certain occasion, that he "slept amongst gods and whirligigs."

† See the story of Narcissus, thus applied in an ancient fresco painting. Antichità d'Ercolano Pitture, tom. v. plate xxviii., also plates xxx. xxxi.

they represented the rape and descent of Proserpine, spoken of by Clemens, or the descent of Æneas, so agreeably narrated by Virgil, or other similar fables. The descent of Æneas may be supposed to have had a partial reference to the mysteries, notwithstanding the argument of Gibbon, that Virgil could not have been initiated at Eleusis, previous to his writing the sixth book of the Æneid; for it is even probable that Virgil might have viewed such exhibitions nearer home, in the mysteries of Nola and Apulia, which, certain passages in his poem would nevertheless induce us to believe, he had considerably disguised. That such partial reference was deemed no breach of the secrecy enjoined, we may collect from the comedy of the Frogs, wherein Aristophanes has delivered a hymn of the Initiated in direct allusion to the mysteries. The two poets have equally described a descent to Hades; but the Roman, after conducting his hero thither, has taken the remainder of his scenery, not from the mysteries, but from various mythologists; the Athenian, after bringing the characters of his drama to the same point, has thrown the remainder of his subject into burlesque, but not without allusion to that banquet, which formed, as I apprehend, the ultimate object of the mysteries.

What I have to offer, is a series of a few transparencies, which will follow in tolerable regularity of succession. I have, indeed, been under the necessity of resorting to sculpture to supply the deficiencies of painting; but this liberty will, I trust, be conceded to me, when the nature of the intaglio is considered; for this, when executed in cornelian, sardine, or other diaphanous stones, is actually a solar transparency; such, as when worn on the finger of a Greek who had been initiated, would have recalled in a very pleasing way, those awful but ravishing spectacles, of which it furnished an imitation, both elegant and portable.

Thus prepared for the undertaking, and having adapted my scenes, although it may be no very desirable employment to

engage as mechanist of a theatre; yet since the Greeks deigned to receive the mysterious doctrines of their religion from pantomimic representations; and since men of erudition have, in later times, condescended to direct their researches to ascertaining the nature of them, I may doubtless be permitted to proceed; and, as the different illumined paintings pass before the reader's eye, to take upon myself, as far as may be allowable for the immediate purpose, the office of hierophant or expositor: — Καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω Ἱεροφάντην.

In Museo Townleiano alt: unc: H.

Sarda incis: ex Dactyl: Townleiana.

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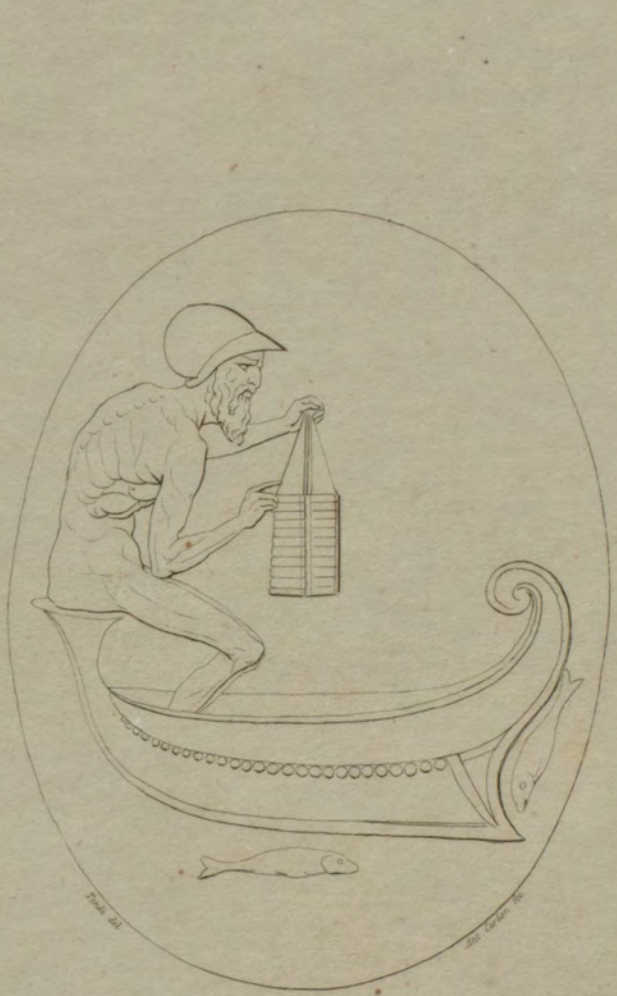

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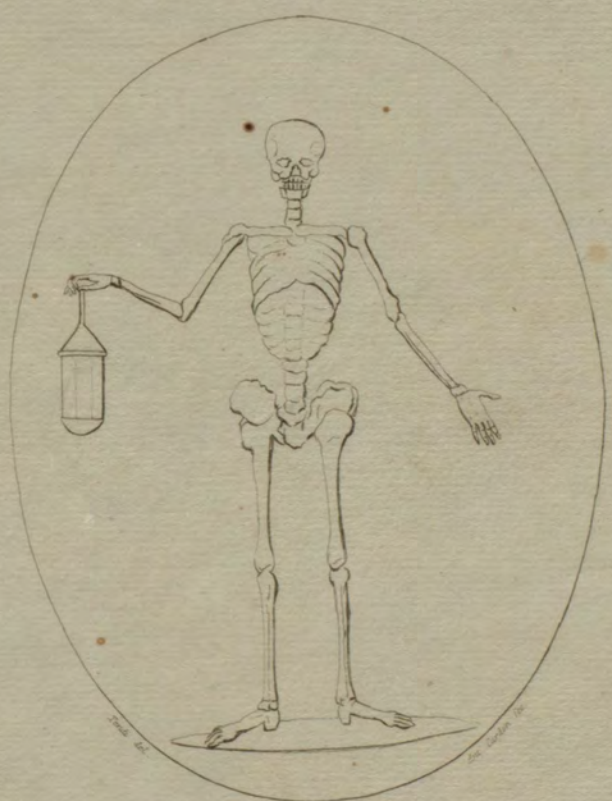

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In Museo Townleiano alt. uno 40

PLATE I.

Of the Rotation or Revolution of Nature.

The allegory conveyed in this first painting comprises the general meaning of the scenes which follow. The vicissitude of decay and reproduction, to which, according to the notions of the ancients, nature was subject in perpetual revolution, is expressed by a female figure tumbling. The order of nature is for a moment inverted: but, by an effort of the limbs, the body appears on the point of being returned to its proper attitude.

These tumblers were styled κυβιστητῆρες, from κυβιστάω, a word derived from κύβη, *caput*, that is, *in caput deferor, devolvorque*, but which may also signify to turn over as a die; and κυβιστάω is sometimes used in the sense of *taxillis ludere*, to play with dice: even dice were anciently viewed in the same mystical sense with that which is conveyed by this female tumbler.

This painting (copied from a vase, the use of which, and of the inedited monuments that follow, I have to reckon among the numerous kindnesses that endear to me the memory of Charles Townley, Esq.) may illustrate some lines of Homer, who, in his description of the Cretan dance on the shield of Achilles, introduces two tumblers into the middle of the circle, which performed their feats in cadence, whilst the young men and women danced round them: —

Δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς,
Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες, ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους. *Iliad.* Σ. v. 604, 605.

Should the foregoing allegory be deemed absurdly applied, I rea-

dily agree in the charge; but these are the absurdities which were so severely reproved by the Fathers of the Church, such as might be expected ματαιόφρονος Ἐρεχθειδῶν δήμου, from the frivolous people who boasted their descent from Erectheus. It is no part of my design to restore the religion of the ancients to its original dignity *; nor to defend those who formerly professed it from the injurious charge of heathenism or paganism. † Rather let its absurdities be displayed. By discovering how much was needed, we shall be sensible how much we have gained; for one of the first evidences of the truth of Christianity arises from the necessity of its healing intervention.

" Nihil enim adversus pietatem, ac bonos mores molimur; " nam veterum superstitionum ritibus expositis, religionis Christ- " ianæ veritas, ac majestas, veluti lux in tenebris magis, magisque " elucebit. ‡

PLATE II.

Bacchus, in the Form of a Vase, carried ad Inferos.

In the following scenes we shall be made further acquainted with the mythological Bacchus, in whose person were embodied the theological notions of the ancients. We shall view him, who by ancient mystagogues was termed, " the first-born of the unknown father§," who was invested with the power of creating and destroying, himself subject to the same vicissitudes. In him we

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* See the Preface to the Essay of M. Le Clerc de Septchenes, upon the Religion of the Greeks. I quote from the English edition in octavo.

† Ibid.

‡ Adprobatio Jo. Baptistæ Vicecomitis in Passerii de Pict. Hetrusc. in Vasc., vol. ii.

§ " Ignoti vis celsa patris, prima atque propago."
MARTIANUS CAPELLA, l. ii. p. 43.

shall see cause put for effect, and *vice versâ*: inert, yet producing activity, active and passive, male and female*, he will not only give various forms to matter: —

Ὕλην ἀλλάσσων ἱερὴν ἰδέαις πολυμόρφοις, †

But we shall also have reason to concur with the poet, in considering him αἰολόμορφον ἄνακτα ‡, the power who could assume various shapes at pleasure; he will appear alternately extinguished and rekindled, σβεννύμενος λάμπωντε §; in fine, we shall observe in him, though governor of nature, a type of nature itself, and of all the successive changes to which it is subject.

I have before observed of the vases deposited in tombs, that they might in some measure be considered to represent the persons to whom they belonged. In the present instance the vase is the larva of Bacchus. It is in the form of an amphora that we now discover him borne to the lower hemisphere by the destroying harpy, in whose hand the emblematical torch is depressed, to denote suspended animation. Or, if the antiquary, shall be better pleased to consider this to be the figure of a syren, the deportation of Bacchus, the inspirer of song, by a vocal minister, will give further elegance to the design. The general purport of this gem might also be proved from other intaglios, wherein a corpse, or a terminus, are indifferently borne; and upon a painted tazza, in the Hope collection, the Dioscurus appears bending under the weight of a tortoise, which, as the emblem of sluggish inert nature, he bears *ad Inferos*. The tortoise is kept steady upon his back by a thong or strap, passed over one end of the shell.

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* According to the Orphic invocation, πρωτογόνον διφυῆ, Hymn v. v. 1.

† Hymn xxiv. v. 3.

‡ Hymn xxxviii. v. 5.

§ Hymn lv. v. 5.

PLATE III.

Descent of the Phanes ad Inferos.

This beautiful gem exhibits the infant Dioscurus hooded, and bearing the Bacchus, under the form of a lantern *, to the lower regions. Similar subjects may be seen in the Mus. Florentin. vol. i. plate LXXX. fig. 2, 3. 6.

PLATE IV.

Bacchus, in the Form of a Lantern, crosses the Styx.

The Dioscurus here appears as an emaciated elder, conducting the Phanes, or Bacchus, over the Styx.

PLATE V.

Arrival of the Amphora at the Cavern of Hades.

Pursuing the subject, we again find Bacchus, in the form of an amphora, completing his voyage † to the cavern of Hades, where Cerberus, barking, announces his approach. The clepsydra or water-clock, which appears in the form of an hour-glass, in the boat of Charon, has an allegorical meaning. An Asiatic antiquary has observed that the noise made by the turning of this, when the pleadings in the courts of justice among the ancients were finished, was termed *pacsha*, a word implying *turn* or *change* ‡, which might induce us to believe, that the water-

* These lanterns were composed of horn, at least so early as the time of Plautus. "Quo ambulas tu, qui Vulcanum in cornu conclusum geris?" — *Amphitr.* A. i. Sc. 1. 185.

† I find this subject expressed in a ludicrous way, in an ancient fresco painting, which exhibits the Dioscuri by two grotesque figures conveying a boat load of vases over the Styx. See Antich. d' Ercolano Pitture, vol. v. plate LXVII.

‡ Captain Francis Wilford, Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 301. 8vo.

clock in the present gem might be the symbol of vicissitude, whereby a promise of return is made to Bacchus, in his visit to the shades.

PLATE VI.

Bacchus, as a Lantern, in Inferis.

We here observe the nearly extinguished Phanes *in inferis* held by a skeleton, which, erect and motionless, seems to partake of the nature of a terminus, designed to express that point in the lower hemisphere, whence nature emerging shall resume her former activity. It was an original suggestion of the late Rev. Dr. Henley, that the pillar (to which I would also compare the terminus), symbolically considered, denotes the solstice, the apparent temporary resting-place of the sun, at the furthest extent of his course, whether in the upper or lower hemisphere.

PLATE VII.

*Return of the Amphora.**

The return of Bacchus is here neatly expressed by a winged genius upon the amphora, which is wafted along by means of a hoisted sail.

PLATE VIII.

Bacchus, having again assumed the Form of a Vase, is brought up from the Inferi.

At length the various characters assumed by this changeable deity have been traced through their mystic revolutions, ex-

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* From the Museum Florentinum, vol. i. plate LXXVII. fig. 1.

cepting that it remains for me to bring up the vase to the upper hemisphere. A painting from an inedited vase in the Townley collection, now in the British Museum, may serve to complete my drama. In this, the generative power, characterised by priapeïd ears and horns, emerges from the marshy shores of the Styx, bringing up the amphora from the inferi.

Before I dismiss the spectators, I cannot refrain from adverting to the explanation offered by that learned Asiatic antiquary, Captain Francis Wilford, of those mystic words, Κὸγξ, ὄμπαξ, (Konx, ompax,) which closed the celebration of the mysteries. He has observed, that the correspondent Sanscrit words, Cancsha, Om, Pacsha, denote, the first of them, the object of our most ardent wishes; the second, Om (the monosyllable used at the beginning and conclusion of a prayer), amen; and the third, Pacsha, "answering to the obsolete Latin word, *vix*, change, "course, stead, place, turn of work, duty, fortune." — *As. Res.* vol. v. p. 300.

That many words found their way into the Greek language, in later times, from different parts of Asia, may be proved from the lexicon of Hesychius; at the same time an observation of Davies, the learned editor of the Tusculan Disputations of Cicero, (lib. i. p. 53.) deserves regard,—that a superstitious respect was anciently paid to words adopted from foreign languages, by which, no doubt the Oriental were implied. Hence these lines of the pseudo-Zoroaster are quoted by the learned critic:—

Ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μή ποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,
Ἕξει γὰρ ὀνόματα ἕκαστος θεὸς ἴδια,
Δύναμιν ἐν τελεταῖς ἄῤῥητον ἔχοντα.

Change not foreign names; for every foreign nation has some peculiar to it, imparted by the deity; and these are of unspeakable efficacy in initiatory rites.

Hence the words Konx-om-pax might have been introduced into the mysteries, from their being supposed to possess some secret virtue, even though the Initiators had not a precise knowledge of their meaning. But I presume not to decide on this question, which well deserves the attention of the learned.

CHAP. VII.

The Ceremonies peculiar to each Day of the Greater Mysteries, as enumerated by Meursius, and an Attempt to explain the Exhibitions in the Propylæa. — Characters assumed by the Priests. — These Characters discovered on a Sicilian Vase, illustrating the Mysteries of the Idæi Dactyli.

But it was more particularly by the splendour and secrecy of the Greater Mysteries, that the priests at Eleusis contrived to excite the curiosity of their countrymen, and to convene both sexes, from every part of Greece, at the time of their annual celebration. The exhibition lasted nine days. But the designation of each day's employment, as collected by Meursius from ancient authorities, evidently refers to very little more than introductory rites, and only partially to the mysterious display within the temple.

According to Meursius, the first of these days was termed ἀγυρμός, the general meeting, in which it may be conceived, that those who had been admitted to the lesser mysteries at Agra, were questioned very strictly as to their several qualifications; and this, I imagine, must have taken place in the small temple of Diana Propylæa, which stood before the outer propylæa, or portal of entrance to the first enclosure of the temple at Eleusis. — *See the unedited Antiquities of Attica, published by the Society of Dilettanti in London*, chap. i. plate III. E.

The second is supposed by Meursius to have been employed in a procession to the sea, to which the mystæ were encouraged by the exclamation ἄλαδε μύσαι. I have already suggested the probability of the statue of the goddess, alluded to by Themistius, being then committed to the sea, like the Durga of the Hindus; and I may add, like the Adonis at Alexandria, which was allegorical of a descent to Hades, and was considered to be an ἀφανισμὸς or disappearance of this allegorical representative of Nature. The manner of the *appearance*, and the stage on which the figure was exhibited may be conjectured from the passage of Themistius, above referred to, considered in connection with the observations of the English dilettanti, respecting the topography of Eleusis.

Themistius illustrates his father's expositions of the Aristotelic philosophy, by the priest throwing open the propylæa of the temple at Eleusis; whereupon the statue of the goddess, under a burst of light, appeared in full splendour, and the gloom and utter darkness in which the spectators had been enveloped, were dispelled.

These propylæa must necessarily be the second portals, at the entrance to the inner enclosure of the temple. The foundations of them as detailed in the Unedited Antiquities of Attica, exhibit the vestiges of a theatre, and of theatrical mechanism. Upon this supposition, the mystæ, after delivering the satisfactory proofs of their *moral purity*, and previous initiation, in the temple of *Diana* Propylæa, would have been allowed to pass through the first propylæa; and upon their descending the steps of the inner façade of that building, the second propylæa would appear, but placed obliquely. The intervening breadth of ground would be the spot to be occupied by the spectators. Before them would have been a pavement elevated by two steps above the level of the area of the outer enclosure, 40 feet 3 inches wide, fenced in by walls on each side, but open toward the spectators, and covered with a ceiling or roof, as may be suspected from the

bases of three columns ranging in depth along the walls on each side, which must have been designed to support a ceiling. Such a covering would have been necessary to darken the front of the stage. The ground plan in the before-cited work exhibits the vestiges of two columns in the centre of the pavement, at a depth of about 20 feet from the front of it, and advanced before the façade of the second propylæa, which formed, as it were, the scene, separated also from the façade by an inclined plane, upon a descent of 16 inches in 18 feet, which are about the length of it. In this inclined plane two parallel grooves, or ruts for wheels, are channelled, of considerable depth. This very gentle descent was calculated only for the gradual movement of the object to be advanced by means of it. The central gateway, thus elevated 16 inches above the pavement, exhibits two grooves in its level floor, each describing the quadrant of a circle, for the doors to traverse, upon their being thrown open internally. Hereupon we may conclude, the statue of the goddess, lodged in this central recess, must have been drawn forward, and lowered down the inclined plane to its extreme station, between the two before-mentioned columns. Two wings were added to the central gateway; but from the remains of walls extant in front, and a window frame found near them, the scientific authors of the work alluded to were induced to believe that they were not designed for passages of entrance. It is therefore probable, that the lights by which the central recess was illumined, were disposed within these wings, and that the grooves in the pavement, and the plug holes yet extant, were designed for supporting mirrors, and machinery by which those mirrors were to be adjusted. A semi-transparent curtain was probably stretched across the opening* between the two columns; and the object intended by thus advancing the illumined statue, must have been to in-

* This opening was about 11 feet 6 inches wide.

crease the splendour of it gradually until it should be brought to the greatest possible degree of brilliancy. If the supposed transparent curtain had been formed of plates of horn, we might then imagine the folding doors of the portal itself to have been veneered with ivory; and a satisfactory account might be rendered for the allusion of Virgil to the *actual vision* of the goddess at the first portal, which would have appeared as an *unsubstantial dream* to those who had been afterwards admitted by a free passage through the second.

According to the foregoing speculation, the propylæa of the inner peribolos, or enclosure of the temple, would have been obstructed by this machinery until the close of the second day. The procession to the sea would take place on the conclusion of this scenic exhibition; and on the third day, these obstructions being removed, the inner propylæa would have been open for the ingress of the mystæ to the last enclosure, where the Anactoron, or temple, with its still more interesting exhibitions, was open to receive them; and to this, as we may conclude from Themistius*, they were conducted through the inner propylæa, by the daduchus or torch-bearer.

The third day was opened by the sacrifice of a mullet, as we must presume, preparatory to the great scenic exhibition. On the fourth the mystic basket was brought upon a waggon to Eleusis, followed by females carrying other baskets, or cistæ, bound with purple fillets, and containing symbols which Clemens has enumerated. His observations give us reason to suspect, that it was after the arrival of this procession at Eleusis, that a further examination of the mystæ took place, and that their answers were

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* After noticing the splendour which succeeded to the previous gloom, Themistius adds (of his father), —"Venus was near, in the character of torch-bearer, and "the Graces, hand-in-hand, performed the perfectory rites." The whole of this passage in his *éloge funèbre* is well worth perusal. It is full of allusion to the ceremonies and topography of the temple, but so faintly and delicately expressed, as scarcely to bear translating.

neither free from grossness nor absurdity. Sufficient authorities establish the fact of a torch-race, occurring on the fifth evening: to this the well-known lines of Statius apply:—

> " Tuque Actæa Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelo
> Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystæ."

The word *jactare* occurring in some lines of Seneca (quoted by Meursius, as having allusion to this,) proves that the torch was tossed from hand to hand, as in the lampadophoria. On the sixth a procession, with the statue of Iacchus, moved from Athens to Eleusis, answering, perhaps, to the εὕρεσις, or return and vivification of Adonis.

On the seventh was an athletic contest. The eighth day was termed Epidauria, from Æsculapius, who arrived at Epidaurus too late to partake of initiation. The business of this day was therefore a repetition of ceremonies already performed, and for the benefit of any who might have been prevented attending sooner.

The ninth and last day of the mysteries I deem particularly deserving of consideration, and intimately connected with the subject of these disquisitions. It was termed πλημοχόη, a word which, as Meursius has noticed from Julius Pollux, properly denoted an earthen vase, not ending in a point (like the ordinary amphora) but with a firm and steady base, and being used on the last day of the mysteries, the day was named from it πλημοχόη. Athenæus terms the vessel σκεύος κεραμουν, βεμβικώδες, shaped somewhat like a top, and κοτυλίσκος.

Two such vases were used on this occasion. One was placed towards the east, the other to the west; and they were emptied while certain mystic words were uttered. These have been made known to us by Proclus on the Timæus of Plato. They were, υἷε, τοκυῖε. While the first of these was pronounced, they looked up to heaven; and casting their eyes downward to the earth, they pronounced the latter.

By thus accosting each Epopt as a son, υἱὲ, might be implied the heavenly origin of man: by τοκυῖε might be denoted regeneration. This day I should presume to fix upon, as the particular time, when the painted earthen vases, which form the subject of these researches, were received or purchased from the priests at Eleusis by those who were now deemed ΚΑΛΟΙ, to be preserved by them, as in the personal instance of Apuleius, until their dying day, and to be then deposited with them in their tombs, to commemorate the fact of the possessors having been both initiated and perfected.

It is highly necessary, therefore, that we cultivate an acquaintance with these priests; for a knowledge of them may facilitate our admission to the temple. They meet us on the very threshold of the Eleusinium, in a passage of Eusebius, where he says: —Ὁ μὲν Ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἐνσκευάζεται, "The Hierophant is attired as an allegorical image of the Creator;" in like manner the Δαδοῦχος, or torch-bearer, of the sun; the assistant ἐπὶ βωμῷ of the moon, and the Ἱεροκήρυξ of Hermes. Their number was four, corresponding with the three Cabirs and Camillus in Samothrace. But the reason why the hierophant assumed the character of the demiurgus, no writer has disclosed to us. The genuine meaning of the word is *artifex*, *opifex*; and it might be supposed to indicate merely the priest who directed the construction of the machinery, and who set the mystic *fantoccini* in motion, while the sacred herald might have explained their allegoric meaning. It is probable that in the mysteries of Eleusis, the priests were originally actors in a drama, wherein the demiurgus exposed the notions of the ancients respecting the cosmogony, while the representatives of the sun and moon, enforced the system of decay and reproduction, and that hence the sacred herald deduced useful conclusions for the moral conduct of the people. But in later times, when the shows were necessarily celebrated on a larger scale, the mysteries were then illus-

trated by scenery, as a more compendious and striking mode of instructing the spectators. Some allusion to the characters of the priests might have been then preserved in the opaque and transparent groups exhibited; and this appears probable from the first example I shall offer. We will then go forward, and these very priests, who seem to have escaped from us in the vestibule, will reappear in their assumed characters upon the stage, still to be recognised by the reference they will bear to the description of Eusebius. And if we shall succeed in detecting them, we may accept it as a conclusive argument, that the paintings on the vessels found in tombs in Magna Græcia were really copied from the Eleusinian transparencies, or from those in temples elsewhere established, in which similar shows were displayed.

Explanation of a Sicilian Vase, illustrating the Mysteries of the Idæi Dactyli.

The scholiast on the poem of Apollonius Rhodius has noticed three of the Idæi Dactyli, whose names are expressed in the following verse: —

Κέλμις, Δαμναμενεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων.

Whether these are to be identified with the Cabirs, whom he has termed Axieros, Axiocersa, Axiocersos, and Camillus, does not immediately appear; but as the officiating ministers at Eleusis were four in number, in imitation of those in Samothrace, we need not be surprised if we should meet with them under their Greek titles, as above cited, concerting a religious mystery on the

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stage at Eleusis. Such are the characters in the transparency now produced, in which the demiurgus, the assistant at the altar, the sacred herald, and the torch-bearer are discoverable. The subject of the painting I conceive to be Acmon and Damnameneus preparing to animate the universe by means of their minister Celmis; illustrated by the allegory of Pan, in a sitting or quiescent posture, waiting for his torch to be lighted at the furnace of Hephæstus. I presume I cannot be mistaken in my conjecture, because ἄκμων, which in Greek denotes an anvil, whence the word πυρακμων, a blacksmith, has also the signification of οὐρανὸς, heaven.* The first of these figures, then, the demiurgus, or workman, implies celestial fire. Damnameneus, evidently composed of the words δαμνάω, *domo*, and μένος, *vis*, *robur*, is that which allayeth the power of fire, or which tempereth metals which fire hath fused, WATER. The Baron de Ste. Croix would explain this to be earth, but it was an anciently received opinion, that earth was a deposition or sediment from water. She is here an assistant at the altar, or in other words, at the forge of Vulcan. Κέλμις I should derive from κέλομαι, *jubeo*, one who delivers orders, the same as Camillus, Hermes, and Mercury; and the arm and hand of the third figure stretched forth over the head of Pan, properly convey this meaning. The Δαδοῦχος, or torch-bearer, personates Pan, that is, τὸ πᾶν, the universe. Ptha or Hephæstus, who, according to Egyptian mythologists, was produced from the egg in the mouth of the supreme Cneph, is here introduced to us as the demiurgic deity, conducting the process of creation in the great workshop of nature. The animation of the universe, also, under the character of Pan, may be collected from two interesting plates in the work of D'Hancarville. The first of these, vol. iii. plate XCIV., where

* Hesychius in voce.

Pan crouches under the weight of the sphere, and listens to the instructions of a figure which I venture to term Celmis. In the other, vol. iv. plate cxviii., Celmis presents two eggs, as a vivifying gift, influenced by which Pan, supporting the lower portion of a sphere, dances with the most ridiculous gestures.

The torch, of which the mystical meaning is determined by Lucretius, —

" Et quasi cursores, vitaï lampada tradunt,"— Lib. ii. v. 78.

is here neither elevated, to denote life, nor depressed, to denote suspended animation, but characteristically held in a horizontal direction. As the principle of life to the universe it is a symbol of the sun, and Eusebius has informed us that the Δαδοῦχος was attired as an allegorical image of the sun. This idea may be pleasingly illustrated by a passage in the Ezour Vedam ; in which little work (evidently composed by some European missionary*, for an excellent purpose) is the following apostrophe :—" Le Soleil " que tu as divinisé, n'est qu'un corps sans vie et sans connoissance. " Il est entre les mains de Dieu comme une chandelle entre les " mains d'un homme. Créé de lui pour éclairer le monde, il " obéit à sa voix, et répand partout sa lumiere comme une chan- " delle qui commence à éclairer dès qu'on l'allume."—Vol. i. p. 226, 227. " The sun, which you have deified, is a mere lifeless " and unintelligent body. It is in the hand of God as a candle in " the hand of a man. Created by him for the purpose of lighting " the world, it obeys his word ; and disperses every where its light, " as a candle throws its beams the moment it is lighted."

To this it may be properly added that the most ancient Osiris of the Egyptians, for there were many of the name, was

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* I believe it to be the same work [illegible] by Father Georgi, Alph. Tibet. p. 94., as the production of the [illegible] in India.

supposed to be the son of Vulcan, and was entitled *Tosorthrus**, a word that, according to Father Giorgi†, signifies *filius fornacis*, " the Son of the Furnace."

Upon the whole, this interesting painting, taken from a very early Sicilian vase, which was once preserved in the library of the late James Edwards, Esq., but was destroyed by accident, furnishes a curious insight into the earliest religion of Greece, which evidently consisted of speculations upon, and probably a worship of, the mundane elements. This worship is also to be clearly traced in religious allegories upon works of art, in China and Japan‡; and it seems to have prevailed universally, before the first deification of heroes, who, in the course of time, were likened to those elements.

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* " Plures fuerunt in Egypto Reges Osirides; quorum primus a Bonjurio, sta- " tuitur Tosorthrus, filius *Necher-Ophis* Vulcani, omniumque Egyptiorum Regum " antiquissimi."—*Alphabet. Tibetan.* p. 71.

† " Tosorthrus hic idem esse posset tanquam ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲉⲣ-ⲧⲥⲣⲁ, Touser-thro, " et Græca terminatione Tousorthros, filius fornacis, sive Vulcani filius. — ⲧ enim " articulus fœmineus ideo præfigitur, quia ⲥⲣⲁ fornax. generis est fœminei."— Ibid. p. 75.

‡ The Chinese imagined two principles which they termed *Yang* and *Yn*, and they represented them by an entire line, and a divided one, styling them the perfect and imperfect, heaven and earth, male and female. Dr. Kæmpfer observes, that certain of the Japanese philosophers admitted an intellectual or incorporeal being, but only as governor and director, not as the author of nature; nay, they pretended, that creation was an effect of nature produced by *In* and *Jo*, heaven and earth; one active, the other passive; one the principle of generation, the other of corruption. *Hist. of Japan*, p. 250. These opposite principles are elsewhere reported, p. 601., to be represented before the Daibod's Temple, near Miaco, by two images of giants, called *A-wun*, or *In-Jo*, or *Ni-wo*, one with the mouth open and the hand extended, the other with the mouth shut and the hand brought close to the body.

CHAP. VIII.

Harmonious Arrangement of the Universe.

According to Plutarch, when Osiris had settled the affairs of his government at home, he set out to civilise the rest of mankind: — Πειθοῖ δὲ τὰς πλείστας καὶ λόγῳ μετ' ᾠδῆς πάσης καὶ μουσικῆς θελγομένας προσαγόμενον. (*De Iside et Osir.* s. xiii. p. *32.*) "By persuasion and "argument, with every kind of song and music, he soothed the "minds of men, and brought them over." Now as to what may have been the origin of this tradition, and who the person shadowed under the name of Osiris, I shall not here make it my business to enquire. But I suspect, that the expedition of Osiris, and the manner in which the object of it was accomplished, were anciently converted into a religious allegory, by which a well-known human event was made a type of the harmonious arrangement of the universe.

I suspect this, because Plato, whose philosophy and language are frequently borrowed by Plutarch, had before said, that the deity created all things, πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ, "by persuasion and reason." The representations on vases of a figure setting out in a quadriga, preceded by Camillus, or Mercury, petasated and booted, and bearing the caduceus, while an attendant by the side of the car plays upon the lyre, or beckons with the arm uplifted; these I venture to term the expedition of the deity, either in his male or female nature,

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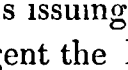
to harmonise the universe. An example of the former to which I would apply the expression of Plutarch, μετ' ᾠδῆς πάσης καὶ μουσικῆς, " with every kind of song and music," may be be seen in Tischbein's Collection, vol. i. plate XXIV.; of the latter, in that of D'Hancarville, vol. iii. plate LII. where an inscription appears in characters scarcely legible, but which D'Hancarville would explain to be ΟΔΟΥϹ for ΟΔΥϹϹΕΥϹ, Ulysses. The forms of the characters, however, are as follows,  , which, unless they be read βυρροφηδὸν, give us something like the word *Suada.* But to wave what cannot be affirmed with certainty, I beg the reader's attention to a painting from a Sicilian vase, in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq., which exhibits a female representative of the deity, or mind, ascending a quadriga, preceded by Camillus, or Mercury, and accompanied by a male and female figure, the former with the hand open, and extended in an argumentative attitude, the latter with the arm uplifted and the fingers bent inward, as if persuading or inviting her companion. * These figures I conceive to be the λόγος and πειθὼ, or Argument and Persuasion, which powers are here personated under the different sexes. The vine tendrils issuing from the breast of the female in the car, and from her agent the Dioscurus, are symbolical of the genial influence of Bacchus, who was differently entitled Osiris, Dionysus, and Ampelus (ἄμπελος), " the vine," which Osiris was supposed to have first planted. The fabled expedition of this personage having been undertaken for the purpose of conferring benefits on mankind, the vine is therefore symbolically made to accompany the deity in his course. The cherishing power of the deity is thus generally expressed on vases by a vine springing from the breast, or from between the shoulders of the great Pan, from which the tendrils, diverging in thin waved and budding

* A youth with one hand extended, in the act of exhorting, is designated ΠΕΙΘΩ in very legible characters on a Nolan Vase, formerly in the possession of H. Tresham, and now in that of Thomas Hope, Esq.

shoots, light upon different figures, that appear entangled in its folds. This is the meaning of those thin knotted lines which often intersect the groups on vases of the ancient class, ornamented with black figures on a red ground. A further example may be seen in plate XII. of this work.

The painting I first explained made us acquainted with the opinions of the ancient mystagogues respecting the demiurgic powers, from which the universe was supposed to have received animation, and the sun its light. This second plate has represented that luminary embodied, and setting out upon his course.

We will now consider his influence in the lower world, in which various vicissitudes were accounted for, and were measured by his example.

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CHAP. IX.

Attributes of the Deity, variously personated on Vases. — Of Shields, and their Devices.

HAVING formerly resolved the mythological Bacchus into his attributes, and shown in what manner he represented the day and the night sun, accordingly as his visit was paid to either hemisphere, having likewise noticed his ambiguity of sex, whereby he comprehended within himself both the active and passive principles of creation, I will now confirm those illustrations by a different mode of proceeding. I will collect the scattered members of the Osiris, and synthetically show how groups were admitted upon vases, which are to be accepted only as parts of one mystic personage. The opposite engraving, from a Sicilian vase in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq., represents a male and female figure, both draped, standing between two armed warriors, upon the shield of one of whom is emblazoned a dove, whilst a thigh, leg, and foot are bent, and comprised, by way of device, within the shield of the other. These male and female figures are personifications of the double sex of Bacchus διφυὴς; the two armed attendants are his agents, the Dioscuri. The shield itself is a symbol of the deity; his creating power is typified by the dove, the well-known emblem of life, which seeks the upper part of the sphere; and the lower limbs of the human body, having allusion to the lower regions, denote the influence of Bacchus also

in Inferis. Thus the group expresses the Bacchus in his several natures, as male and female, vivifier and destroyer: —

Τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός. *

For these are the members of Pan, or the integral deity.

Thus also upon a very interesting vase, which is engraved in the collection of Passeri †, we notice the cherishing and destroying powers of Bacchus emblematically personified. A man, bound hand and foot, is laid obliquely upon a couch or chair, and his feet are opposed to a blazing fire. A draped figure opposite, looking upward, as if with gratitude, stretches out his hands in the act of warming them. Behind, is a temple, within which a figure of the deity, supported upon a pedestal or altar, points toward these figures, as if superintending or directing what passes in the foreground of the painting. The learned antiquary was perplexed with the appearance of torture, thus publickly inflicted, which ill accorded with the celebration of the Bacchanalia, to which he referred the subject of the vase: but the meaning is evident; that the same element which can cherish by its genial warmth, may also be an instrument of torture; that the same deity who preserves, can also destroy; and that these powers are united in the integral Bacchus.

The attributes of Bacchus are sometimes expressed in a different way. Plate LXXXVI. vol. ii. of the Etruscan Antiquities of D'Hancarville represents in succession, a tigress and a boar, a lioness and a goat, a harpy and a stag; which are thus alternately classed, as destroying and generating animals: and further to evince this contrast of disposition, allusive to the opposite powers of the deity, and the continual warfare in nature, of which

* Onomacritus, hymn x. v. 3.

† De Pict. Hetruscor. in Vasculis, vol. iii. last plate.

creation and harmony were the result*, we lastly observe in this painting a pair of fighting bulls, which confirm the explanation given.

The attributes of the deity are not always so evidently depicted: they are frequently conveyed by detached symbols, and devices upon shields are significantly used for this purpose; such as a human arm to denote the upper, or an anchor the lower hemisphere; the kid, the Hesperian fruit, and wings, expressive of life, and the serpent of renovation; the Pegasus and Salian figures allusive to the pervading power; and others which do not so readily admit of explanation.

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* (Τῶν πάντων)—ἐκ μάχης καὶ ἀντιπαθείας τὴν γένεσιν ἐχόντων.—*Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride*, sect. xlviii. p. 121.

CHAP. X.

Temporary Repose of Nature. — Of the Egyptian Horus in the torpid State. — Mutes on the Reverse of Vases. — Figures draped and naked.

As yet, however, we have made but little advancement towards a general understanding of the paintings upon vases; it is time that we examine the operation of the attributes lately mentioned, and how by their influence nature was subjected to the vicissitude of decay, inertion, and resuscitation. The subject most frequently alluded to in these scenes is the temporary suspension of the powers of nature, and the restoration of the same by the interference of some vivifying agent. By far the most numerous class of paintings upon vases have been so designed as to elucidate this subject in one composition; and although a satisfactory explanation of every vase is more than we can promise, yet the reader may be assured that with moderate attention to the meaning of symbols, and the manner in which they are interchanged in order to produce varieties, many of these subjects may be understood by referring them to this general allegory.

The temporary state of rest may be exemplified in a pleasing instance furnished by Passeri, the genuine meaning of which, however, escaped that learned antiquary. He has cited a vase whereon was depicted a soldier sleeping on his post, but with his limbs so disposed, as that upon the least alarm he might start up

and resume his station in the ranks. I will give it in his own words: — " In eâ miles clypeo protectus, sinistro genu et crure " humi dejecto, super illud decumbit; at ne proruat, hinc genu " dextero sublato, et clypeo subnixus ita dormit, ut, signo dato, " promptissimè exsiliat." * The solution of this allegory is ready at our hand; it represents the temporary repose of nature after lassitude or decay, and its promptitude to resume its functions. The same explanation may also be applied to a vignette which embellishes an early part of Mr. Tischbein's illustrations of Homer; where a file of warriors kneel, their helmets, pikes, and greaves only appearing beyond the orbs of their shields. The fact is, they rest upon their arms, but are nevertheless ready to spring up from their temporary state of repose.

The explanation of these later devices will, perhaps, be readily admitted; but it may be satisfactory to many to be informed whence the Greeks derived them, and what was their original meaning. The doctrine of the inert state may be supposed to have been more recently borrowed from a very simple agricultural painting of the Egyptians, whereby they emblematically warned their countrymen of those times of annual rest, when the overflowing of the Nile caused a cessation of agricultural labours, until, upon the entrance of the sun into a certain sign, the waters subsided, and vegetation sprang forth with renewed vigour. † An etching in the work of the Abbé Pluches (tom. i. p. 88. plate XI.), to which I refer the reader, will make this more evident. Horus, an emblem of vegetable nature, there appears in a state of repose, stretched on a couch or bier, and embarrassed with swaddling clothes, to denote his inaction under the influence of the sun in Leo, whilst a female before him (probably Virgo), with the hand uplifted, calls him into action. A plate in

* Passeri, vol. i. p. LXXI.

† This may suffice for the present, but the allegory was of more ancient origin.

Kæmpfer's History of Japan (tom. i. plate v. p. 33.) may be here cited, which represents Amida seated on a cippus, with five small figures above, and the same number of figures beneath him. In these several plates, the Egyptian Horus and the Oriental Buddha appear in a similar state of rest, and, which may be deemed still more curious, the Canopi below the Horus, and the five attendants above and below the Japanese deity correspondently denote the elements * or attributes of each personage, and these monuments illustrate well the character of Buddha, " In otio plurimo" (to use the words of Tertullian) " placidæ stupentis divinitatis." But we will transfer the scene from Egypt to Eleusis. If the reader will open the work of Passeri (vol. iii. plate ccxcviii.), he

* This observation requires further comment. The element, water, was characteristic of the preserver Bacchus, who was accordingly symbolised, and his mysteries were commemorated, by the vase. In the Egyptian painting, indeed, the symbols are somewhat perverted. Three vessels denoted separately the elements, earth, water, air, and collectively the overflowing of the Nile, as I am instructed by Horapollo (Ed. Pauw. p. 38.), who assigns a physical reason for this signification. But the Egyptian painting having also to notice time and other circumstances, heads of certain creatures are superadded to the vessels, the complex meaning of which may be learned from the Abbé Pluches; and a fourth vessel is introduced, surmounted by the head of a virgin, with allusion to that particular sign. That the twice five figures attendant upon Amida represent the elements I conclude, 1. from the number of them as computed by the Japanese, viz. 1. wood, 2. fire, 3. earth, 4. ore, 5. water; which elements, with a different monosyllable postfixed, are increased to ten (Kæmpfer, p. 157.): 2. from Kæmpfer having noticed (p. 604.) an idol in the temple of Sotoktais, surrounded with the idols of four elements. In proof that these relate to the attributes of their deity, may be adduced the opinions of the Japanese philosophers, who, somewhat after the manner of the Brahmins, (Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 244. octavo.) maintain that the animal creation was produced by *In-Jo*, i. e. Heaven, and five terrestrial elements. (Kæmpfer, p. 250.) Respecting the connection between Buddha and the great events of the creation and the deluge, much might be here adduced, did not that subject present too extensive a field for present enquiry. I will content myself with suggesting, that the representatives of the deity, *Cenresi* in Tibet, and *Ravana* in Ceylon, are exhibited, the one with a human head and ten others (Alph. Tibet. p. 166.), the other with the head of the ass and ten human heads (Systema Brachmanicum, p. 299.), probably with allusion to the creating deity operating upon the twice five elements.

will observe the same subject expressed upon a very curious vase of the earlier class, which may possibly be yet preserved in the Vatican. The inert Bacchus is there exposed upon a funeral couch, and the vivifying agent, like the Egyptian Virgo, awakens him into energy from the torpid state. On the reverse of the same vase (ibid. plate ccxcix.) nature seems to be represented under the form of a dragon, which an owl draws up by a string from the shades.

The appropriate symbols, therefore, of the inert state appear to be sleep, rest, the attitude of reclining*, and particularly the embarrassment of clothing. Under this last head may be classed reverses exhibiting draped figures, which Passeri has termed youths newly invested with the *toga virilis*. I had long doubted the propriety of this assertion of Passeri, applied to vases of Greek workmanship; but I yield to the judicious observations of Mr. Böttiger, who has properly savoured that opinion.† I must,

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* To these may be added bondage, whether expressed by the hands tied behind the back of the figure, as in those instances, on gems, of Cupid and Psyche bound (Mus. Florent. vol. i. plate LXXIX. fig. 4, 5, 6.), or by Time in Fetters (ibid. vol. i. plate XCVII. fig. 4.), or Cupid in the Stocks (ibid. vol. i. plate LXXXI. fig. 2, 3, 4.), besides many others.

† Mr. Böttiger cites an interesting passage in Artemidorus, where allusion is made to the one year's inaction and silence of youths, with the right hand enveloped in their robes (Oneirocrit. lib. i. cap. 56. p. 48. Ed. Rigaltii), whence he remarks: — 1. that the investing of youths with the *chlamys*, at the age of 17, was an ancient Athenian custom, and transferred to the Grecian colonies. He supposes that the Etruscans, and their Roman descendants, imitated this ancient ceremony in their custom of presenting the *toga*. 2. That the upper garments of the figures so represented on reverses neither resemble the Grecian *chlamys*, nor the Roman *toga*. They appear to him to be of a mixed fashion, and he would determine them to be the *toga Græcanica* of Suetonius in Domitian, c. 4. "and wherefore," he adds, "might not the scanty upper "cloak, as worn in the mother country, have taken a broader cast when used by the "same Greeks in Lower Italy, and have been thus accommodated to the effeminate "manners of this voluptuous people?" — Uber den Raub der Cassandra auf einem alten Gefässe von gebrannter erde. — Zwey abhandlungen von H. Meyer, and C. A. Böttiger. — Weimar, 1794, 4to p. 83, 84.

however, be permitted to add this corollary : — that the representation of youths so invested with their hands beneath the *chlamys,* and hence unentitled to a voice in public assemblies, must be symbolically accepted as merely denoting silence with respect to the mysteries. In the same manner, on the bottom of the Barberini vase, a figure draped and hooded, with the finger to the mouth, implies that the mysterious allegories represented on the side of that vessel are not to be incautiously revealed.

A very curious Campana vase, in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, confirms what I have here suggested. Upon the reverse of this, supported by two such draped and muffled figures, is to be seen Harpocrates on the lotus, and a water-fowl beneath him. This painting is decisive. The youths are *mute* as to the meaning of the allegories depicted on the front of the vase.

It may, therefore, be observed with regard to figures draped and naked, that the former are generally to be considered in the inert, the latter in the resuscitated state; and many instances may be produced where figures have been thus purposely contrasted. Such a one occurs in the work of Passeri (vol. iii. plate CCXLVI.), where two naked dancing figures in front are contrasted with two draped figures on the reverse of the same vase (plate CCXLVII.); but a more striking instance may be noticed on a vase, plate XCIV. in the 3d vol. of D'Hancarville's collection. The painting of this, as far as it concerns Pan and Celmis, I have already explained: the remaining part also deserves notice. A naked male there approaches a tree, the trunk of which is embraced by two serpents, in the same way as the mundane egg is embraced by the Agathodæmon. The three Hesperian apples hang above, and the naked male figure appears to be kept at bay by one of the serpents which guard them. A *draped* female advances upon the other side, but

upon that no fruit is to be seen. Thus fruitfulness and sterility, and the draped and unembarrassed states appear to be purposely contrasted. To the right are Pan, with the globe, and Celmis. I confess that I formerly found a difficulty in believing, with Passeri, that many Chaldean traditions had found their way among his Tuscan ancestors; but the more I consider this plate, the more I am led to think that an obscure notion of the objects of these traditions had been preserved in the mysteries: nor can I refrain from adducing those memorable words in Gen. chap. iii. v. 11. "Who told thee that thou wast "*naked?* hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded "thee that thou shouldest not eat?"

The mode of solution which I propose on all occasions, in place of the unsatisfactory reference usually made to poetic mythology and history, will at least, rescue the credit of the artists who executed these paintings, from the charge of anachronism, and of disregarding unity of place in the scenes they depicted; and it is with every respect for the learned antiquary Passeri, that I offer a remedy for the apparent incongruity in his explanation of such a vase as the following, plate XIII. vol. i., where he has felt a difficulty to reconcile the appearance of Clytemnestra with Iphigenia and a female attendant at Sparta, whilst, divided from them only by a pillar, were seen Achilles demanding the daughter of the king in marriage, and Ulysses interfering; which last events must have taken place at Aulis. The difficulty seems to have arisen from a wrong interpretation of the umbrella borne by the Iphigenia, which I have elsewhere given reason to believe (upon vases at least) does not denote marriage.* The truth is, that in

* When the bride walked beneath the umbrella, it was to denote a transition from the shades to light, from barrenness to fecundity; and for the same reason the bride was covered with the hood or veil, as in the celebrated gem which represents the marriage of Cupid and Psyche.

this painting the three females form a group *in inferis*, which is implied by the umbrella spread over them; they are draped, as being inert, and their inactivity is further implied by two of them being seated, and the third in a quiescent (though upright) posture: the fancied Clytemnestra is indeed in the act of listening with appearance of expectation; equally with her companions she is motionless; but they are *in inferis*, where like the dæmon in his glass prison, they sit enchanted, waiting until some more powerful magician shall come to their assistance, and break the charm. The pillar, beneath which they are seated, is the boundary between motion and rest, between life and death. The small figure upon the summit is not the Tauric Diana, but the emblematical Bacchus, whose powers are for awhile suspended. The hooded elder, *resting* on his staff, and the supposed Achilles, *leaning* on his spear, are engaged in conversation. The gross appearance of the latter is ill suited to the youthful and fiery character of the Grecian hero: and I conceive, they are both designed to complete the view of that intermediate state, to which all ranks, the virgin and the matron, the warrior and the sage, were supposed to be equally obnoxious. Their expectation of being recalled is however indicated by the fingers of the warrior bent backward, and on the reverse of the vase, the animating powers advance to release them, with the torch, the tibiæ, and the tambourine, to the sound of which instruments, perhaps, the Clytemnestra listens, being thereby apprised of their coming.

Ex celeberrimo Musæo Th. Hope Armig.

CHAP. XI.

Of Fish, and the Allegory of Angling.

Before I proceed to the examination of new matter, for I have other subtleties to propose, and I shall be obliged to adopt a particular jargon in expounding the sophisticated ideas which were embodied and expressed on vases, I will adduce something further on the subject of resuscitation. For this purpose I select a vase in the collection of D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate xxvii. Upon this appear the Dioscuri, who, having landed the female Bacchus *in inferis*, are in the act of heaving their anchor, and rowing back to the opposite shore of the Styx. The *Libera* seated on the bank, in the mystic attitude of the Harpocrates, awaits the return of the genius who may be charged with calling her into activity. This already appears in the upper part of the painting, where a water-fowl is on the wing towards her, bearing in its mouth a fish, which, in this instance, is evidently used for a symbol of resuscitation. From this allusion of fish to the principle of animation required by inert nature, angling became an appropriate device for any monumental stone. Upon one of this class in the Townley collection, a fisherman seated on a rock

angles for fish; and in the collection of Charles Blundell, Esq., at Ince, near Liverpool, a figure of an angler (in small life), seated on a rock with a basket of fish by his side, illustrates the same idea.

The reader, prepared by the foregoing observations, will probably feel himself at no loss if I introduce him to a fishing party composed of distinguished ancient personages, for an acquaintance with which I am indebted to the condescension of Thomas Hope, Esq.; who has politely permitted an engraving to be taken from a Sicilian vase in his splendid collection, whereon this subject is preserved. The triad of grisly figures exhibited in the accompanying plate consists of Hercules, distinguishable by the lion's skin and quiver, kneeling on a rock in the centre, Neptune angling, and Hermes seated to the right, reaching forward the caduceus. The anxiety and attention of Hercules are well expressed by his attitude, and by the hand inverted, as if he were watching the expected bite. The sovereign of the waters, behind him, grasps a fish that he has just hooked, and Hermes, who could either consign to the deep, or resuscitate, with equal facility, by means of his caduceus, needs no better implement on the present occasion. Thus each pursues the sport with equal prospect of success. But who would expect from a subject so grotesquely detailed, that the painter had designed to express the triple power of the deity, drawing the principle of life from the primary abyss? Such, however, I presume to be the sophisticated meaning of the painting: for the vine springing from the feet of Hercules identifies him with the creating Bacchus, who has assumed the lion's skin and quiver, as emblematical of power. The preserver is designated by Neptune, who presided over the waters, and he is here opposed to the destroyer and regenerator, Hermes. In confirmation of this exposition, let me observe, that winged

genii denote the animating principle; and such is their meaning when Psyche angles for winged infants instead of fish, on a gem published by Bracci.*

The original cause for the acceptation of fish in this sense it were difficult to ascertain: probably it arose from the ready propagation of their species. But I have met with a curious reason assigned for it in Plutarch, which I will venture to adduce. The priests of Neptune at Megara, as the Syrians also, it seems, abstained from fish, because they were the symbol of humid nature, from which all things were created. But the opinion of Anaximander is truly whimsical; for he attempts to prove, (says Plutarch †, or Nestor for him,) not that fish and men are in their natures the same, but that men were originally generated *in* fish, and being bred up (as was the case with the first men,) until they were equal to providing for themselves, they were then cast out, and they caught hold of dry land. Those who do not fully assent to the system of Mr. Bryant will scarcely permit me to refer this tradition to the Deluge ‡; but the Indian Vishnu, the preserver, is fabled to have interfered, in the form of a fish, during the destruction of the world by water. Those Gentile divinities, which are reported to have been personated by figures ending in the form of a fish, were consequently representations of the deity, in his generating or preserving capacity, and we may plainly discover, that it was not merely from the exposition of the

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* Bracci, Memorie degli antichi Incisori, vol. i. tab. xix. No. 1.

† Ἀναξίμανδρος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κοινὸν ἀποφῆναι τὸν ἰχθύν.—PLUTARCH. Συμποσ. προβλ. lib. viii. prob. 8. Διὰ τί μάλιστα οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ ἐμψύχων τοὺς ἰχθῦς παρητοῦντο.

‡ See many ingenious arguments respecting the Ceto, indifferently considered as a fish or boat. *Analysis of Ancient Mythology.*

initial letters comprised in the word ΙΧΘΥΣ *, that the title of the fish was given to Christ, as the saviour or preserver, by the early converts to his church, but it arose from a laudable zeal in his followers to reclaim the Pagans from their absurd worship, by speaking to them in a symbolical and sacred language, which they readily understood.

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* Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτήρ.

CHAP. XII.

Of Old Age, Wine, Music, and Rhetoric.

I WILL dismiss the subject of angling, by referring to some pleasing lines upon a worn out sportsman, who hung up his fishing rods and lines, and implements of the chace, to Hermes: by the concluding line of the epigram *, —

——— Ἐκ γήρως δ' ἀδρανίῃ δέδεται,

I am reminded, that in the Greek religious allegories, old age implies a state of bondage and inertion. To figures of this class wine is frequently presented, as the invigorating principle. This appears in the *Antichità d'Ercolano, Pitture*, vol. v. plate XLV. wherein are depicted Silenus seated beneath a leafless tree, and a female pouring wine to him from a *uter*. Upon an ancient terracotta in the Townley collection, may be seen two Dioscuri, hooded, as agents *in inferis*, who resting on one knee, their backs turned to each other, and one hand uplifted, pour wine into a *tazza*, and present it severally to a couchant griffin. In that well known bas relief, of which we have a spirited etching, the

* It is given by Toup on Suidas, vol. i. p. 19.

last in the work of Bartoli upon ancient sepulchres, Ganymede offers wine (for such seems really to have been that liquor which poets ennobled by the name of nectar) to an eagle overshadowed by a tree. The avidity of the bird, and his longing after immortality, are well expressed by his depressing the cup with his talon, as if to procure a readier draught of the liquor. With this he waits to be refreshed, before he wings his flight to the upper hemisphere. That such allegories are conformable to the religious notions of the Greeks may be collected from a passage of Pausanias, which Passeri has cited, informing us that the Dorians named Bacchus Psilas, a word implying, in their language, wings; and with great propriety, he adds, in his opinion, for wine elevates and lightens the spirits of man, in the same way as wings uplift a bird: — Θεῶν δὲ σέβουσιν οἱ ταύτηπερ τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Ψίλαν ἐπονομάζοντες. Ψίλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ πτερά. ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶνος ἐπαίρει τε καὶ ἀνακουφίζει γνώμην, οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἢ ὄρνιθας πτερά.—*Pausan. Lacon.* lib. iii. p. 258.* The Bacchus of the poets, young and sprightly, is never represented by them indulging in wine to intoxication. Passeri has adduced some beautiful lines from Nonnus, which might furnish subject either for the chisel or the pencil, in which he is appropriately described sipping the genial liquor: —

> Καὶ γλυκερὸν πότον εὗρε, καὶ οἰνοχύτου Διονύσου
> Λευκὰ διαινομένων ἐρυθαίνετο δάκτυλα χειρῶν.
> Καὶ δέπας ἀγκύλον εἶχε βοὸς κέρας· ἡδυπότου δὲ
> Χείλεσιν ἀκροτάτοισιν ἐγεύσατο Βάκχος ἐέρσης.
>
> Lib. xii. v. 201.

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* Aristophanes, who was a scoffer, has made allusion to this in his drama of the Acharnenses; where the Chorus, observing the feathers of poultry that had been picked for dressing, says: "He hath cast these feathers" (in the original, wings) "the symbols of life, before his door:" Τοῦ βίου δ' ἐξέβαλε δεῖγμα τάδε τὰ πτερὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν (*Acharn.* v. 977.): while the humorous and more immediate sense of τοῦ βίου δεῖγμα is "the sign, or proof, of good living."

"Bacchus the vine's sweet bev'rage foremost found,
Its foaming juice his purple fingers crown'd;
Forth from the cup's writhed horn the drops he drew,
Bent o'er the brim, and lightly sipp'd the dew." *

The reason for wine being sacred to Bacchus, as corn and tillage were favoured by Ceres, partly arose from the emblematical reference of it to resuscitation.

Music and musical instruments are frequently applied on ancient monuments from a similar allusion. The trumpet used in this sense, in a plate in D'Hancarville's collection, would be worth the reader's notice; but he will turn from it with disgust, when he finds it accompanied by an indecent emblem that is further illustrative of the meaning I assign to it. The lyre and *tibiæ* are more agreeably introduced on vases, and likewise on gems; and in the work of Caylus, especially, may be noticed the three Cabirs on the deck of a boat, which may be supposed to float on the great abyss, while Camillus excites them to dance by blowing the *tibiæ*.

In subjects more intellectually conceived, rhetoric has furnished many elegant groups. Upon an ancient fresco among the Antichità d'Ercolano, may be seen an elder seated, with a cista of volumes at his feet, and a female addressing him, with the hand extended in a persuasive attitude. I venture to deem the former philosophy, in the latter I recognize eloquence; for it may be suggested, that philosophy when inert is little more than meditation, but animated by eloquence it assumes a different nature, it benefits and enlightens; and it is from this union of soul with body, that we derive the noblest productions of literary composition.

In this class, therefore, I will place a vase already noticed, where a youth in the act of pleading is entitled ΠΕΙΘΩ, and

* This version is from the elegant pen of W. Sotheby, Esq.

a seated female ΕΥΚΛΕΑ*, as a personification of eloquence rousing the historic muse. It is to be regretted that an imperfection in the vase prevents our ascertaining the character of a third figure, that would have rendered the group complete; but the allegory is sufficiently intelligible.

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* Or perhaps ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ: the I may be supposed to be concealed by the skirt of the robe of the sitting figure.

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CHAP. XIII.

Of the dotted Chaplet, Girdle, and Scarf. — The Fate of Cassandra and the Flight of Æneas mystically treated.

It was just at this moment that I had promised to myself and the mystæ, my readers, admission to the very *adyta* of Eleusis; for I had found a key, not indeed that golden one which Sophocles tells us was hung upon the tongue of the Eleusinian priests, it was of baser metal: with the hope of obtaining useful information I applied it; but what a nauseous spectacle did it disclose!

To see the internal organisation of nature laid open, to view the mysterious œconomy of her womb, (and this merely to show the transition from sterility to fecundity, and to prove that nature is ever reproductive,) might afford entertainment to the anatomist, or the obstetrical professor; but to an enquirer into the principles of Greek theology, it presented nothing but horror and disgust. Let me then quickly close this chamber, where from every object drips uncleanness, and chase its contents from my memory. It is now, for the first time, that I applaud the prudence of those who forbad the disclosure of the mysteries. The Greek writers often intimate their acquaintance with these

doctrines, which visions, and other warnings, deterred them from exposing: but, independent of their fears, and the punishment that awaited whoever revealed them, these writers might also have convicted themselves of unmanly conduct in having listened to such discourses; and I conceive, notwithstanding the laxity of morals in Greece, that the priests who adopted these gross allusions in explaining their tenets would scarcely have been honoured with general respect, but for the consolatory promises also held out by them to the initiated.

The extent of these disquisitions will be somewhat abridged, from the disappointment I have experienced: of some things which it yet remains for me to treat, a part must be taken by my reader for granted; but should he be inclined to withhold his assent to certain points, I will rather court his incredulity, than be compelled to assign authority for what I advance. To enter upon an investigation from mere curiosity were a waste of time, but to collect from any such enquiry what may throw light upon the customs and ceremonies of distant nations, or tend to approximate the scattered tribes of the μερόπων ἀνθρώπων towards their original *focus*, may have its use, as well as rational entertainment. It is with this view, therefore, that I proceed in my disquisition.

The object of these nightly shows was chiefly to display nature resuscitated, generally by the means of some vivifying gift; but this present was supposed to be first impregnated, in a manner, which for obvious reasons, I forbear to explain. Suffice it to say, that certain luminous spots, whether disposed in a circle, or expressed upon a leaf or chaplet, a girdle or scarf, were signs of such impregnation. Hence I have reason for dissenting from the report of Diodorus Siculus, respecting the νεβρὶς or fawn's hide, which that writer observes, was said to be worn by Bacchus, because it represented the starry firmament, whereas the spotted appearance of it recommended this peculiar clothing to Bacchus

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for the reason I have stated; it was a symbol of fecundity. It was, therefore, that during the Lupercalia at Rome, women voluntarily submitted to blows, inflicted by those who ran about the streets with thongs of goat's hide: from the nature of that animal, the blow was thought to promise fruitfulness, and easy delivery: —

> Nupta, quid expectas? non tu pollentibus herbis,
> Nec prece, nec magico carmine mater eris.
> Excipe fœcundæ patienter verbera dextræ;
> Jam socer optati nomen habebit avi.
>
> Ovid. *Fast.* lib. ii. 425.

This is the meaning of the dotted leaf which appears upon vases; and when the spotted crown or girdle (whether tied or untied) was presented to a seated female, it denoted the re-admission of inert nature into the circle of existence. This may be seen upon a vase, in D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate li. where a female is seated upon a terminus, beneath the shade of an umbrella: with her left hand she inverts a *speculum*, referring, as I before observed, to the εἶδος or *simulachrum animæ*, at that moment in the lower regions, whilst the vivifying Dioscurus presents the dotted untied girdle. This one example will furnish a solution of numerous others that might be adduced. But I am here presented with an opportunity of turning to a more pleasing subject, and at the same time of doing justice to a very well judged assertion of the missionary Paolino, who, struck with the apparent correspondence of many Indian ceremonies with others which he had formerly noticed upon the Greek vases, declared, that a satisfactory explanation of the latter could not be given, until they were compared with the manners of the Orientals.*

In the very entertaining narrative of Captain Turner's embassy to Tibet we are informed, that "between people of every rank

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* Paolino's Travels, p. 255. English edit. 8vo.

" and station in life, the presenting a silken scarf constantly forms " an essential part of the ceremonial of salutation. If persons of " equal rank meet, an exchange takes place; if a superior is ap- " proached, he holds out his hand to receive the scarf, and a simi- " lar one is thrown across the shoulders of the inferior by the " hand of an attendant at the moment of his dismission. They " are commonly damasked, and the sacred words, *Oom Maunee* " *paimee oom**, are usually interwoven near both ends;" and again, " trivial and unmeaning as this custom may appear to Europeans, " long and general practice has here attached to it the highest " importance. I could obtain no determinate information as to " its meaning or origin; but I find that it has, indeed, a most ex- " tensive prevalence. It is observed, as I have before noticed, in " all the territory of the Daeb Raja; it obtains throughout Tibet; " it extends from Turkestan to the confines of the great desert;

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* Hom-manì-peme-hom, in Alphab. Tibetan. these words I would render, *fiat*, *Manes loto* (*insidens*), *fiat*. Mani, of whom and of his parents, Patecius and Carossa, we have a very imperfect account in the work of Father Giorgi, I apprehend to have been *originally* the Indian Menu, the Egyptian Menes, and our patriarch Noah: since, in the East, the same personages are revived at different periods, agreeable with the scheme of the Metempsychosis. This the Buddhists of Tibet believe to be carried on by means of the lunar ship, which ferries over the souls of the approved to the pure regions. Alph. Tibet. p. 238. 372. Hence we may infer that the deluge, and the subsequent renewal of the human race were accepted by early nations, as a type and assurance of a future state. The persons of Mani and Pout appear to be distinct. The former is decidedly the patriarch Noah. A late respectable Oriental scholar, Sir W. C. Rouse Boughton, Bart., was disposed to identify Pout with Phut, the third son of Ham; in illustration of which idea he observed, that as Phut was third in descent from Noah, so Βουδύας, Budyas, is named by Arrian as a king in India, third in descent from Dionysus. But I apprehend that Pout is much the earlier of the two, and that in fact he personates divine spirit. It would seem that the scarf with its legend presented in Tibet were an appeal to the patriarch Mani, accompanied by a solemn wish, that the person greeted might be admitted into the circle of renewed existence, in the same way as Mani had anciently been favoured.

Apud Art. Champernowne Armig.

" it is practised in China, and I doubt not reaches to the limits of " Mantchieux Tartary. I view it merely in the light of an em- " blem of friendship, and a pledge of amity."

I have been much gratified by the particular attention paid by Captain Turner to this ceremony, and it were to be wished that every traveller would be equally accurate in relating even the most trifling customs of the distant nations he may visit. The meaning of the ceremony, I conceive, will be discovered upon the painted Greek vases. As the umbrella, and its use in the East, may be understood by a reference to these monuments of art, and records of ancient religious opinions, so, I conceive, may the present of the scarf, with its mystic legend, in Tibet. It is no more than the girdle presented by the vivifying agent, who calls him that accepts it into the circle of life. On vases it is marked with what denotes the seeds of existence. In Tibet it is impregnated with the mystic words, *Oom maunee paimee oom*, which are supposed to be equally efficacious.

The entrance into the regenerated state is expressed on a vase in the work of Passeri, by a seated female in the act of putting on the girdle. In the same work we read of a mystical dance, termed *saltatio ad restim*, where dancing youths, taking hold of the same rope, described a circle in their movements. When we hear of Ceres with her wheaten crown, we are reminded of that goddess, who instituting the mysteries, taught the admission of decayed nature into the circle of existence, of which the grain in her chaplet emblematically represented the seeds; and when a Grecian female had passed the pains of labour, a chaplet was suspended at her portal, to signify that a human being was newly admitted into the circle of life.

By way of concluding these remarks upon dotted circles, I will notice a singular vase of very homely workmanship and painting, preserved in the British Museum, and published, plate

LVII. in the third volume of D'Hancarville, which represents Cassandra slain by the Dioscuri. A female extends her arms ready to receive her after death, and another holds a taper, at the top of which, instead of flame, appears a circle of luminous spots. I do not hesitate to explain this emblem, as the circle of existence into which the slaughtered Cassandra is about to be re-admitted. To the left above, a female reaches out the branch of conversion; and to the right at top, the owl brings a hoop illumined with mystic spots. Other circular dotted emblems, disposed in the opaque parts of the scene, may imply future circles or stages of existence, in different planets. Mr. Böttiger has thought this painting worth notice in his dissertation upon another vase, whereon the story of Cassandra is differently represented. I presume the torch surmounted by a dotted circle, is what Mr. Böttiger has termed a key in the hand of the priestess, the warden of the temple; nevertheless the engraving given by D'Hancarville is correct; and the symbol cannot be mistaken. Upon the other circular emblems Mr. B. is silent. But with regard to that vase which has given occasion to the elaborate dissertation of Mr. Böttiger, I will observe by the way, the subject of it is of similar meaning with the other in the British Museum. The event succeeds to a very generally recorded destruction — the overthrow of Troy. The violence offered is not so much to Cassandra, as to inert, but repugnant nature; and I suspect, the *embryo* figure sketched upon the disk in the upper part of the painting commended by Mr. Böttiger, is no *votive tablet*, unless, indeed, it be to Artemis Lochia.

While speaking of Trojan history, an unpublished vase of the late Arthur Champernowne, Esq., occurs to me, exhibiting the flight of Æneas under circumstances that, I apprehend, no poet ever detailed, but aptly enough conceived, if we refer them to the initiators in Lower Italy. Æneas, bearing Anchises on

his back, is represented wading ancle deep through shoal water, and conducted by Mercury to a faun, as the generative or re-invigorating principle. Anchises carries off a cornucopia, the symbol of fertility, instead of the Penates. Behind is seated a female, her head and arms gracefully turned, and designed with uncommon taste. From her retrospective attitude, and the affectionate concern expressed in her countenance, she doubtless personates Creusa, who was left behind when the Trojan hero quitted his ruined country. She represents the inert state *in Inferis*, as can be satisfactorily shown, by comparing this with another vase in the British Museum. The fishes in the lower part of the painting are equally symbols of water and generation. It may be said that the expedition of Æneas to the Inferi is no more than his voyage to Hesperia, an ancient name for Italy, which was occidental with respect to Greece. But I must add, that like the painting disserted upon by Mr. Böttiger, the plate before us illustrates the destruction and subsequent renewal of things*; and the work of M. Boulanger will show, that subversion in the political as well as in the physical world was anciently considered the prelude, as it were, to a new life, and order, and general happiness. In the same way would I dispose of most of those subjects on vases, which antiquaries have termed Homeric.

These remarks I particularly recommend to the reader who may be acquainted with the dissertation of the learned professor, and those who seek new subjects of mythology upon vases will

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* Livy has doubted whether Ascanius were the son of Æneas by Creusa or Lavinia. It is very probable that he was by the former, and that the name Iulus was afterwards given as a word of good omen, which indicated the re-establishment of his family, since Ἴουλος is a word of religious meaning, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to explain.

do well to consider the painting I first cited. The strange hieroglyphics with which it is accompanied, justify a belief, that whenever subjects were selected from history or mythology to adorn these funeral vessels, they were merely designed as vehicles for theological opinions. Hence facts were misrepresented, or gave place to mystical conceits, devised by those priests by whom the Eleusinian shows were conducted.

In Musco Britannico

CHAP. XIV.

Of Solstitial Fountains.

I NOW present my reader with a plate, which he may have noticed in the work of D'Hancarville.* The meaning of it has never been explained. The antiquary, therefore, who looks with eagerness for unedited works, will probably be not less gratified, if I shall succeed in rendering intelligible a monument that is already familiar to him. The leading object in this scene is the terminal Bacchus; but other figures are comprised in it of allegorical import. To the right of a pillar with its capital placed upon a font, or behind an altar, a transparent opening again displays the terminal Bacchus in a fixed state; and in an opening to the left is a naked figure whose limbs are moved, as if he were in the act of dancing. The pillar is here the boundary between motion and rest; and it seems to illustrate the inertness of Bacchus, and the temporary suspension of his powers. Thus much may be collected from the painting, which I leave for the present, to consider what is suggested to me respecting it by a coin of Thespiæ.

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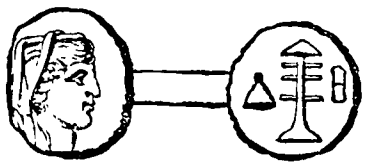
* Vol. ii. plate LXXII.



The reverse of this coin engraved in the work of Pelerin*, exhibits a lofty phallus crossed by three horizontal lines, on one side of which is an object somewhat resembling a bell, and on the other a theta, in its ancient square form ⊟, as the initial letter of Thespiæ in Bœotia, where it has been supposed the coin was stricken.

Pausanias informs us†, that the figure of Ἔρως, or Love, at Thespiæ, was a white stone, i. e. a phallus or obelisk; so that if the leading emblem upon the coin had reference to his rites, we might conclude they were not of the most decent nature. But all this may, perhaps, be explained by means of the tract ascribed to Lucian, de Syriâ Deâ. The ancient temple at Hierapolis ‡, in Syria, is there reported to have stood upon an eminence in the middle of the city, the base of which eminence was enclosed by a double wall. Near the gates to the north, were erected two phalli (of the enormous height of thirty fathoms §), one of which a man ascended twice every year‖, swarming it by a chain, as was practised by the Arabs in climbing the palm-trees of their country. Arrived at the top, he coiled his clothes round so as to form a

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* Medailles des Peuples et des Villes, vol. i. plate xxv. fig. 26. Haym ascribes this coin to Thebes. The principal object upon it has usually been termed a quiver.

† Bœotic. lib. ix. c. 27. p. 761. Ed. Kuhnii.

‡ "Hodiernum ejus nomen Membig a primigenio Mabog, nam a Seleuco Syriæ "Rege dicta demum Hierapolis."—*Rasche rei Numariæ*, t. ii. par. 2. p. 279.

§ I have substituted the judicious emendation of Palmerius for the extravagant measure τριηκοσίων in the text.

‖ Ἐς τουτέων τὸν ἕνα φαλλὸν, ἀνὴρ ἑκάστου ἔτεος δὶς ἀνέρχεται, or rather, perhaps, each of which he ascended once annually.

nest or seat, and having let down another chain*, which he carried with him, and drawn up by the means of it food and necessaries, he remained upon the phallus seven days. Seated aloft, he prayed for all Syria; but whilst he prayed, he rang a bell: κροτέει ποίεμα χάλκεον, τὸ ἀεἰδει μέγα, καὶ τρηχὺ, κινεόμενον. Some conceived that thus being nearer to the gods he was heard to more advantage, whilst others referred the custom to the deluge, when all men betook themselves to the high places for safety. The phallus, with sticks projecting from it to assist the man in ascending†, and the bell, seem to be imitated upon the Thespian coin. The Persian Mithra, who was supposed to intercede with Oromasdes, the deity, is represented floating in air upon the mystical Tau; the man, therefore, on the phallus, who interceded by prayer for all Syria, might have been designed to personate Mithra; but, says the Pseudo-Lucian, some refer this ceremony to the deluge; and by the lucubrations of the learned M. De Sacy we are informed that similar phalli in Egypt actually did refer to the overflowings of the Nile, which seem to have served as a national record of that greater flood, which was equally commemorated on the banks of the Euphrates.

From an unedited work of a Syriac writer, from whose tour in Egypt an extract has been given by M. De Sacy‡, it appears that similar phalli were erected before the temple at Heliopolis in Egypt. At the top of these obeliscal columns were bonnets of copper of many quintals' weight, and when the river, with which they communicated, rose, the water issued from the

* I venture to read οὐ μακρὴν ταύτην, which words, I suspect, formerly crept into the text, although the first of the three is now omitted.

† Or perhaps to mark the different heights to which the water rose.

‡ In the Magazin Encyclopédique for 1801, t. vi.

bonnet, serving as a signal to the natives of the annual inundation. *

We read in Bishop Pococke's account of the East † of a pillar standing at Balbec, in the capital of which was a basin for water, from which a semicircular channel descended along the shaft; and of another pillar, of curious formation, nearer to Lebanon. Bishop Pococke doubted respecting the probable use of these, whether they had been designed for conduits, or for any superstitious ceremonies of the heathens.

Applying these observations to my immediate purpose, I discover from them the precise meaning of this painting, which the late Mr. Cardon, senior, who furnished both the drawings ‡ and plates for the work of D'Hancarville, re-engraved for me. It exhibits a solstitial fountain. The bowl-shaped capital, and the thin tube in the shaft of the pillar, must be supposed to have connection with the terminus near it. When the water contained in the pillar was increased by the commencement of solstitial floods, seeking its level, it would discharge itself through the perforated breast of the Bacchus. It is here that the illumined paintings in the back ground become intelligible: for as previous to the arrival of the sun at the solstice vegetation had slackened, so, upon his passing it, vegetation was restored by these inundations. The contrasted figures of the terminus and the dancing satyr imply the vicissitude of inertness and activity; and the cherishing effect of this phenomenon upon nature is expressed by the water issuing from the breast of Bacchus.

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* It may be difficult to conceive the precise application of the obeliscal pole upon the Thespian or Theban coin. If it really represented what I have suspected, it is not impossible that, placed in some low situation, such a contrivance might have been used to mark the rising and falling of the lake Copais, of which, and of its singular *catabathra*, a most interesting account is given by that very accurate traveller, Dodwell. *Travels in Greece*, vol. i. p. 238.

† Vol. ii. p. 107.

‡ These *were* preserved in the Townley library.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Window and the Ladder, and the Banqueting Chamber of the Blessed. — Singular Customs of the Oriental Buddhists explained.

Of a few points yet remaining for discussion, the window and ladder may be noticed as interesting symbols. Passeri explains the square windows on vases to be receptacles in the walls for images of the domestic Lares, which were only opened on festive days, but were otherwise closed with bolts, as may be seen in the engravings of his work. But this opinion I must be permitted to class with the errors into which this learned antiquary was unavoidably betrayed, by placing the objects of his researches amongst a people, who neither invented the vessels nor the allegories he described. From the engravings of his valuable work, however, I flatter myself the meaning of these symbols may be elucidated; for which purpose a plate * in his first volume may be properly adduced, where a dove looks from one of these square receptacles, and a genius flying downward reaches out the vivifying scarf to a naked male figure. From this painting we discover, what powers were supposed to issue from these apertures, and what was the object of their descent.

* Vol. i. plate LXXXVI.

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If the reader be not fatigued with this continued jargon, which is actually necessary for the exposition of my subject, and which I have endeavoured to submit in as intelligible a manner as the nature of it will allow, I will proceed to investigate the meaning of another symbol, which I hope will better repay his attention than what I have lately discussed. I allude to the ladder: but here I am again obliged to dissent from Passeri, who for want of a better explanation was content to consider it an emblem of fortune. "Quis fortunæ manentis imaginem, apud "Etruscos inveniri reputasset? et quidem nacti sumus."— Vol. i. p. 7. But notwithstanding the authority of Ælian, which is ingeniously attached to this declaration of discovery, I venture to affirm that the antiquary was deceived in his conjecture. "Sustulit tamen hæsitationem (he continues) Ælianus de Var. "Hist. ii. 29. hæc scribens, Πιττακὸς ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἱεροῖς "κλίμακα, εἰς οὐδεμίαν μὲν χρῆσιν ἐπιτήδειοι, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀνάθημα εἶναι. "αἰνιττόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἄνω, καὶ κάτω μετάπτοσιν. Τρόπον τινὰ "τῶν μὲν εὐτυχούντων ἀνιόντων, κατιόντων δὲ τῶν δυστυχούντων." "Pittacus "of Mitylene introduced a ladder into the temples of his country, "not designing it for any particular use, but simply as a vote or "offering, implying thereby the rise and fall in the vicissitudes of "fortune, according to which the prosperous might be said to "climb upwards, the unfortunate to descend." All this may be very true of Pittacus, but as I speak of allegories which were not devised by the celebrated Lesbian sage, I must decline accepting this emblem in the sense assigned to it by Passeri. Nor will that country, to which I have occasionally betaken myself for the origin of symbols and a solution of such difficulties as impeded my way, avail me in the present case; the meritorious historiographer of Hindustan directs me to Chaldæa for the genuine sense of this allegory, "to that grand theological school, in which "the metempsychosis was first divulged; in which the sidereal

" ladder and gates were first erected." * Mr. Maurice has left me no doubt as to the signification of the ladder, I therefore advance with confidence, that this symbol refers to the Metempsychosis, of which the different stages are represented by its steps. † I am further inclined to suggest, that the window denotes perfection or the highest stage of it. In the *Monumenti Inediti* of *Winckelmann*, is inserted a grotesque illustration of the story of Jupiter and Alcmene. She is seated at a window, and Jupiter, conducted by Mercury, ascends by a ladder to the feigned character, who (might I be pardoned for an etymological transgression) seems in this place to be no more than Ακμή-νη, denoting the summit, or perfection.

Similar with the preceding is a vase ‡, where a grotesque figure, attended by an agent with the torch and situla, and the emblematical chaplet, ascends by a ladder to a female at a window, to whom he offers the Hesperian fruit and the mystic girdle. That the ladder is emblematical of life, we are assured by its being occasionally impregnated by the mysterious dots §; and as the steps denote the Metempsychosis, it is fair to conclude that the window is the highest stage.

But, perhaps, the curiosity of the reader may not rest here. He may desire to look in at this window, and ascertain what may be passing within this elevated apartment. I scruple not to gratify him in his wish, and in doing so, I apprehend I shall

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* Dissertation on the Oriental Trinities, p. 257.

† D'Hancarville was mistaken when he referred that gem of ancient rude sculpture, Antiq. Etrusques, vol. iii. p. 195. plate XXVIII. fig. 19, to the potter Choræus, and the bee, which, as he supposed, denoted him to be one of those Athenian tribes, which occupied Mount Hymettus. It represents the Dioscurus with a vase in each hand, ascending the ladder of the Metempsychosis, above the upper end of which is the Psyche, or butterfly.

‡ Passeri, vol. iii. plate CCVI.

§ Ibid. vol. i. plate XLVII.

reach the utmost limits to which these disquisitions can be extended. On a marble bas relief of the Townley collection, now in the British Museum, is a representation of a banquet, with the whimsical device of a horse looking through a window. This, then, is that Feast of the Blessed which I alluded to in the beginning of this treatise, by which was implied the utmost object of pagan hopes. To this the apparatus in the tomb of Cyrus, described by Strabo, had reference, as also that in the upper chamber of the pagoda of Belus at Babylon, in the first book of Herodotus. The horse, as was shown respecting the Sicilian and Punic vases, denoted the procession of spirit from water, and in the present case it probably implies a similar vehicle, and the arrival of another guest at this metaphysical banquet.

But what, if extending our view beyond the limits of Chaldæa, we enter the courts of the Birman and other Buddhistical kings, and witness ceremonies in every respect similar to the allegories depicted on Greek vases? We shall scarcely fear to incur the charge of rashness or wanton misapplication of authorities, if we presume to reduce them to such principles, as those which the Chaldæan theologians professed, who imparted their mystic emblems to Egypt and Greece. Whoever has perused the account of La Loubére of the kingdom of Siam, and the more recent narrative of our accomplished countryman, the late Colonel Symes, respecting the court of Ava, will remember that the kings of those countries appear at court only from a window *; and that the hall of audience below (for this opening is many feet from the ground) is decorated with umbrellas. † The eminence of the

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* Dr. Kæmpfer was thus received by the governors of Osacca and Miaco, the residence of the ecclesiastical Emperor of Japan, appearing to him from an adjoining apartment, after the shutters of lattice windows had been flung open. P. 479. and p. 433.

† See the plate in the work of La Loubére, vol. i. p. 331.

prince above his people is hereby implied, he thus appearing *perfect*, or in the highest stage of the Metempsychosis, while his courtiers below are shaded by the umbrellas, as if *in Inferis*, unpurified, or to suit my expression to the vase of Winkelmann, at the bottom of the ladder.

The palace of the king of Siam is covered with seven roofs*: the king resides under the *seventh*, nor dares any mortal climb or walk above his head. † What are these roofs but the ladder of the Metempsychosis, with its seven steps, illustrated by Mr. Maurice ‡, of which the king of Siam flatters himself he has ascended to the highest round? whilst, to show the grovelling impurity, the gross and abject state of his courtiers, they are compelled to enter beneath the lowest roof, creeping upon all-fours. § In the same spirit the Rajah of Bootan is described || residing on the highest floor of his palace or dwelling, and the English ambassador and his suite were obliged to mount by ladders through different floors to arrive in his presence. Other singularities which occur in the narrative of Captain Turner may be referred to the influence of the same religious opinion: such as the houses at Buxadewar, erected on props, although in a hilly country, above the danger of reptiles or torrents, p. 28.; Captain Turner being conducted to the upper floor, upon his visit to a recluse, p. 103; and particularly in p. 91., in the citadel of Tassisudon, the seventh ladder leading to the temple of Mahamoonie.

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* A view of this is given by La Loubére in a plate to vol. i. p. 95.

† Thus, in the embassy of Colonel Symes to Ava, may be noticed the offence given to the boatmen, upon certain of our countrymen walking over their heads on the deck beneath which they slept. P. 451.

‡ Ἑπταπόρου σύρων κατὰ βαθμίδος. Dissertation on the Oriental Trinities, p. 271. The course of lustration by the Metempsychosis was supposed to be through the seven planets.

§ La Loubére de Siam, vol. i. p. 94. Ed. Amst. 1713.

|| Turner's Embassy to Tibet, p. 66.

I wish the coincidences I have brought into one point of view might prove at least acceptable, if not of use, to those who have the opportunity of mixing with the different Asiatic nations whose customs afford such various subject for admiration and curious enquiry. I offer them, at all events, in grateful acknowledgement of the pleasure I have received from those who, to the benefit of their country, have already accomplished such visits, and who have communicated them with so much elegance to the improvement of their countrymen.

CHAP. XVI.

Extinction of Heathen Rites in Greece and Italy. — Eleusinian Mysteries inadequate to the End proposed in them. — Conclusion.

THESE are the chief observations I have made after examining the paintings upon many vases, and comparing them with such allegories as I have found upon other works of ancient art. Excepting that examples have been retrenched, more there scarcely remained for me to say, for much respecting these painted vessels is yet unintelligible; but to have exposed more of what I have discovered than has been submitted, would have only been to stir a filthy pool. The grossness of paganism we may be pardoned for omitting; the attaching ourselves to whatever, connected with it, may prove of service to universal history, is surely laudable, and infinitely more pleasing. Many *arcana* of the pagan theology may never be ascertained, nevertheless, we have been permitted to recover from antiquity as much as may forward the useful, and even the polite and elegant arts; and provided that the architect and artist, who borrow the more

obvious emblems of the Grecian mysteries to embellish their works, apply them not incongruously, a nice attention to the more sophisticated symbols may be very well excused.

A veil seems to have been kindly drawn by Providence, for ages past, over the disgusting errors of paganism, which, having answered its purpose, may now perhaps be innocently removed, provided this be done with no irreverent hand. The most polished states of Greece have been, perhaps designedly, possessed by an ignorant people, whose ferocity long rendered many parts inaccessible to the curious traveller, or whose jealousy prevented his search. Not to mention the complete destruction of Roman grandeur by the northern nations, volcanoes, kindled by a wise hand, have produced a moral as well as a physical change in many parts of Italy and Asia Minor, and burying whole tracts of country in oblivion, with their monuments and rites, may, perhaps, have in some measure contributed to furnish smooth footway for Christianity to advance upon.

As no impropriety can now attend discussions of the present nature, if we consider the result of our discoveries, and the object to which the ænigmatical allusions of this mysterious theology seem to have been ultimately directed, it will appear that a knowledge of the relative situation of man with regard to the Deity, was attempted through an exposition of the economy of the universe; that renovation from water, first brought to knowledge by ancient tradition, and afterwards traced through various phenomena, was considered as a pledge of re-existence and a future state; but the continual succession of decay and renovation observable in nature was blended with these speculations.

That many truths had been handed down by early tradition from the purest sources was the firm opinion of many of the ancient philosophers; but probably they little suspected how much those truths had been disfigured in their passage to them. This great fact, the renovation of created beings from water, after

the flood, gave occasion to a mistaken notion of the pre-existence of the soul, for which Plato has endeavoured to account in his Phædo, by very absurd and inconclusive arguments. Some of the conjectures upon the state of the soul are there professed to be drawn in the way of inference from the ὅσια and the νόμιμα, by which I presume we must understand the mysteries and the popular religion of his country; and, I doubt not, the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was meant to be included amongst these inferences. That it formed a part of what was taught in the Eleusinian mysteries we know from a fragment of Cicero, preserved by Augustine (lib. iv. contra Pelagium), which is thus given, p. 403. vol. iii. Ed. Oxon. 4to. 1783.

"Ex quibus humanæ vitæ erroribus et ærumnis fit, ut "interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris initiisque tra- "dendis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera "suscepta in vita superiore, pœnarum luendarum causa natos "esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur; verumque sit illud, "quod est apud Aristotelem, simili nos affectos esse supplicio, "atque eos, qui quondam, cum in prædonum Etruscorum manus "incidissent, crudelitate excogitatâ necabantur; quorum corpora "viva cum mortuis, adversa adversis accommodata quam aptissimè "colligabantur: ita nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos, ut "vivos cum mortuis esse conjunctos."

Here it is shown that those who conducted the mysteries taught a previous state of existence, and a state also of degradation resulting from sin; and from a passage in the Phædo, it appears that in consequence of the latter the mysteries were considered necessary for cleansing and spiritualising every individual.

A consideration of the vignette prefixed to this last chapter, taken from one of the Townley terra cottas in the British Museum, will, I apprehend, afford a consistent and rational explanation of the origin of the opinion, that the soul had existed in a previous state, and of Socrates's or Plato's doctrine of reminiscences.

This monument represents a figure on the lotus with the body and limbs of an infant, feeble, and leaning for support on two perpendicular tendrils of the plant; but the head is that of an old man, expressing in the most evident manner a notion of a previous state, and of regeneration from water. The renovation of the animal and vegetable creation is represented by the composite figures in a state of rest on either side. In fact, the sculptured monuments of the ancient Greeks and Romans are full of allusions to the Noachic Deluge. The tradition of the patriarch having lived in the old world which had preceded that event, and having been, as it were, born again in the new, imperfectly preserved, led to the supposition, that the same had been the case with every individual. So that, although occasional reference is made in their monuments to the operation of the Divine Spirit on the primary chaotic fluid, yet the two circumstances were blended together; and I know not how the allusions to water in the construction of the Egyptian temples can be explained, if not by reference to these important events. For if the use of the temple was to express therein gratitude to the Deity for the preservation of mankind, what greater act of temporal mercy can we suppose them to have experienced in the early part of their history, than this preservation from water? It would naturally follow, that if the buildings erected for offering prayer and praise admitted any ornament or devices, these would be records of the mercies they had experienced. The Egyptian temples in fact record them. But the renovation of a world submerged was viewed as another creation; accordingly the Divine Spirit, symbolised as the orb of light, is represented on the cornice of these temples, extending its wings, and hovering over the columns of reeds swathed together at intervals, while the foliage of the capitals, elevated above these columns, marked where life had been borne aloft, and to what depth the waters had prevailed.

The boasted philosophy of Thales was no more than a

publication of these doctrines in Greece, where they had been long preserved, in secret, at Eleusis. The Ionic order of architecture attested the opinions of Thales; but the same had been more simply and strongly expressed in the earlier Doric.* That these traditions had come down in very gradual succession we may believe from the regular order in which the mysteries may be traced in Greece through Eumolpus up to Orpheus, and from him to certain personages called Cabirs, or the powerful ones. These Cabirs are to be found in other countries, though differing in point of number; for they were four in Greece, with allusion to the number of males preserved in the patriarchal family; seven in Egypt and India, as the colonists of the renewed earth under the instructions of the patriarch, who completed the Ogdoad. Thus all these countries equally derived revealed truths from the purest sources, but in the course of time they variously disfigured and disguised them. The real history of these Cabirs is thus expressed by a genuine poet, in a very elegant little essay, which has been hitherto withheld from the public: —

> " To Shinaar from the East
> Japhet, Shem, Ham — the three Curetes came,
> Whom loud-tongued priests in planetary dance,
> As Earth, and Sun, and the eclipsed Moon,
> Long through the ages honour'd."

Hence the Cabirs of Samothrace were supposed to have the winds under their controul, and were invoked in dangerous navigations, as if the patriarchs whom the Cabirs represented could extend to others the safety they had in a similar case experienced.†

We further learn, from the fragment of Cicero, that a state of degradation, the consequence of sin, was taught in the mysteries;

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* See observations in the Appendix.

† See animadv. in Athenæum, lib. x. p. 715. Ed. Casaub.

and it is observable that it had reference to sin committed in a state of pre-existence: and it appears to have been a principal object in the mysteries, to purify the soul by way of qualifying it for a future state. To this effect Socrates, in the Phædo, observes:—" The probabilities seem to be, that the founders of our " mysteries were not much out in their conjecture; nay, that what " they implied of old by ænigma was a real truth, that those who " go to Hades, uninitiated and unspiritualised, will abide there in " filth, but the purified and the perfected, upon arriving there, will " inhabit with the gods."—P. 195. Ed. Forster.

The purification offered in the mysteries must have formed the concluding as well as the introductory part of them; and so much, indeed, is implied by the etymology of the word τελετὴ; for, as μύησις, or initiation, in the lesser mysteries, was the first rite, the τελετὴ, in the greater mysteries, was the perfectory or concluding one. That a higher degree of purification followed the scenic exhibitions, which were considered only as shadows or faint images of doctrines, designed to entertain as well as to instruct, I collect from the Phædo: and here I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion, that the sentiments and speculations proposed in that dialogue were those entertained by Plato himself, and are by him only fictitiously ascribed to Socrates. I believe too, from the actual mention of the mysteries in some passages, and from apparent slight reference to them in others, that Plato, while he would have abstained from reporting the symbols, and the means by which the doctrines of the mysteries were inculcated, was less scrupulous in discussing the principles conveyed in them, which he uttered in safety, screening himself under the character of an upright man, against whom malevolence had already done its worst. But to revert to what I had suggested respecting purification, the passage on which I ground my conjecture, abovementioned, is the following: " In a word, that is real virtue, " which is accompanied with wisdom, independent of pleasures,

" fears and the like; for when virtue is not inwardly received and " felt, but proceeds from interested motives, may it not be viewed " as a kind of *shadow painting*, servile, unreal, and unsound? But " true virtue purifies from all this; for temperance, justice, manli- " ness, and wisdom itself may be considered a kind of purification."* Here allusion is made to the Σκιαγραφία, or, as I suspect, to the scenes of the Eleusinian shows, which are treated as unsubstantial instruction received by the eye, and where the pleasure or the pain of the representation rather affected the spectator, than the meaning of the things represented; and it leads me to believe that something really of a nature to elevate and spiritualise the minds of the Epoptæ, and possibly of a moral tendency, was enforced after the close of the exhibition.

But whatever were the means of purification provided in the mysteries, it is admitted that they were not generally efficacious; for Plato cites the ministers of these perfectory rites for the assertion, that they had many more thyrsus-bearers than individuals deserving the name of Bacchus: Εἰσὶ γὰρ δή, φασὶν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς, ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοὶ, βάκχοι δέ γε παῦροι. — Ibid. p. 195.

The thyrsus was formed of the νάρθηξ, or ferule plant. In the pith of it, which was used as a slow match, Prometheus was fabled to have concealed the fire he had stolen from Heaven. The meaning of the expression is, therefore, that in the mysteries there were many initiated who had a capacity for spiritual and heavenly purity, but few were properly disposed to receive it, so that a very small number arrived to a state of perfection resembling Bacchus, who, as Passeri suggested, was " *totus igneus et fulgidus.*"

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* Καὶ ξυλλήβδην ἀληθὴς ἀρετὴ μετὰ φρονήσεως, καὶ προσγιγνομένων καὶ ἀπογιγνομένων καὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ φόβων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν τοιούτων· χωριζόμενα δὲ φρονήσεως, καὶ ἀλλαττόμενα ἀντὶ ἀλλήλων, μὴ σκιαγραφία τις ᾖ ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρετὴ, καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀνδραποδώδης τε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἔχῃ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τῷ ὄντι ἡ κάθαρσίς τις τῶν τοιούτων πάντων· καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ φρόνησις μὴ καθαρμός τις ᾖ. — *Phæd.* p. 195. Ed. Forster.

This advanced state is beautifully illustrated by Plutarch, who has exposed the secret object of the Isiac mysteries, from which those of Eleusis appear to have been partly derived. He observes, that the highest stage in the scale of nature was, as the garment of Osiris, φωτοειδὴς, "shining as the light;" that the perception of that which was intelligent, pure, and holy, flashed like lightning on the soul, which was grasped at, and viewed but for a moment, and then it passed away. When philosophy was employed upon such speculations, it was termed *epoptic*, as some might infer, because it was then versed on such doctrines as were explained *epoptically*, or by *shows*, at Eleusis. And this was to be effected by the exercise and improvement of the mind, by abstracting it from all considerations of sense. Plutarch further explains, that the Deity was removed far from earth, not liable to corruption or decay; that the eventual state was a participation of the Divine Nature, termed by him μετουσία τοῦ Θεοῦ, of which the soul, whilst encompassed about with body and passions, had only an obscure glimmering: but when freed from these impediments, and removed into the purer regions, it was then that God was to become its leader and king; upon him would it then wholly depend, still beholding without satiety, and still longing after that beauty, which it was not possible for man to express.

These, indeed, are noble sentiments, but whether they may not have been partly gleaned by Plutarch from the semi-Christian schools at Alexandria, and whether the doctrine of the hierophants reached so far, there may be some reason to doubt. It must at least be confessed, that buffoonery, the most stupid and absurd*, frivolous conceits, and gross indecency curiously sophisticated, were very inadequate to so sublime an end. That the ceremonies and spectacles of the mysteries were of the grossest description, we have been satisfied from the exposition of them

* See the Collections of Passeri, D'Hancarville, and Tischbein, passim.

by Clemens. The sublimest doctrines, delivered to minds polluted by participating in such obscenities, must have been listened to with indifference or disgust.

Let me here, then, conclude a subject, which, if it has been investigated with any probability of correctness, may serve at least to show the miserable state of ignorance and impurity to which the pagan world were reduced, and excite our gratitude for having been brought from such darkness into light, that may be well styled marvellous. We here collect from pagan witnesses fresh attestations to the truth of our own consistent antediluvian history, which should be dear to us in the extreme, because the foundation of all our hope is laid in the very earliest pages of it. It serves to show, that however human pride may be disinclined to admit a state of degradation, the result of sin, it was nevertheless acknowledged by the initiated heathens; and the pagan Œdipus utters a first great truth, in the same words which are adopted by the awakened Christian:—

Ἆρ' ἔφυν κακὸς;
Ἆρ' οὐχὶ πᾶς ἄναγνος;— *Œdip. Tyr.* 841, 842.

but, for this uncleanness, the Christian can boast, in the words of Plato (with a very slight alteration of their sense), that σωφροσύνη, a singleness of heart, δικαιοσύνη, a righteousness not his own, ἀνθρεία, God manifest in the flesh, and φρόνησις, wisdom imparted from above,— these are an effectual purification.

APPENDIX.

BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC

SECTION I.

Classification of the Greek Fictilia.

In attempting to classify the ancient *fictilia*, the most obvious characteristics I have to consider are those of form and colour. It might, perhaps, be deemed a more regular mode of proceeding, if shape and the natural objects that suggested it were to occupy the first place in my scheme, and if the painting were to follow next in order, as an accident of form. But, as Linnæus, in the arrangement of his Vegetable System, selected his first *indicia* from the parts, before he took a general or a specific view of the construction of the plant, in the same way I shall find it convenient to notice the decorative painting upon vases, as the first essential point, and reserve the form of the vase for secondary consideration.*

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* Botanists altogether reject colour as accidental, and unfit to supply even specific character; but, as the objects of which I am treating are wholly artificial, I feel at full liberty to employ it.

It is only by the style of the painting that we can judge of the comparative antiquity of these vessels; and as the contrast of colour, or general effect, is that by which they may be most easily distinguished, I shall adopt it as the criterion of the classes, which may thus be reduced to a few simple heads. According to this mode of arrangement, I shall comprise the whole under the four following CLASSES:—

I. The Purple-figured,
II. The Black-figured,
III. The Illumined, and
IV. The Plain.

The means by which the effect is produced next deserve attention, and the different modes of laying on the colours* suggest so many different ORDERS or subdivisions, in cases where further distinction may be necessary.

THE VESSELS of the FIRST CLASS are painted with a deep purple colour, on a pale clay. They frequently exhibit lions and stags, and other wild and tame animals, in alternate order, and such animals disposed in a similar manner, have been adopted to embellish the lips of the largest Sicilian† vases of the latest periods. The similarity of style observable throughout the first class renders any subdivision of its contents unnecessary.

THE BLACK-FIGURED VASES rank next for antiquity and curiosity. The groups on some of the earliest of these are heightened with enamel, and the ground is either red or pale. I shall, therefore, divide this class into three orders, with an additional order to comprehend the later imitations of this style.

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* The best information on this subject may be obtained from a letter of the very accomplished antiquary, the Canon Andrea de Iorio to the Cav. Matteo Galdi, "Sul Metodo degli Antichi nel dipingere i Vasi," &c., which first appeared, I believe, in the Biblioteca Analytica, 1813. I have been indebted to this tract for several useful hints respecting my different *orders*.

† This style of embellishment seems to have been originally Spartan. Herodotus speaks of a large bowl of bronze presented to Crœsus by the Lacedæmonians; the surface of the lip of it was filled with small figures of animals:—Ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζωδίων τε ἐξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος.—Lib. i. s. 70. The contents of this vessel (300 amphoreis) must have been erroneously reported.

THE THIRD, or ILLUMINED, CLASS is of many orders; for the contrast is produced by

1. Figures exhibiting the red clay, or warmed by a red varnish, on a black ground.
2. Figures on pale clay.
3. Figures relieved with white, yellow, or purple enamel.
4. Figures on a white priming,
5. Figures painted in opake colours, red or yellow. (If these be not restored, or altogether spurious.)
6. Ornaments only in red or white enamel, on a dark ground.

THE FOURTH CLASS is composed of those vases which have no painting, but retain the colour of the clay, whether plain, or warmed by a varnish superinduced, or of those which are wholly black; but in this state they are sometimes stamped, or marked with a pointed tool.

THE FORMS OF VASES

present other but very various characteristics. *Athenæus has mentioned a particular cup in use among the Greeks, termed κιβώριον*, which derived both its shape and name from the fruit of the Nelumbium. After much attentive consideration of the subject, I have been led to conclude, that all the larger vases of the ancients, or with very few exceptions, have been fashioned after the capsules of certain plants of the water-lily kind: either*

I. Of the Nelumbium of Egypt, approaching to a conical form; or
II. Of the Nymphæa *Lotus* of Ægypt, of oblong spheroidal shape; or
III. Of the Nymphæa *alba* of Greece, oblate spheroidal; or
IV. Of the Nuphar *lutea* of Greece, of which the capsule is urceolate.

Thus, the genera of vases may be expressed by the epithets,—Nelumbio-ides, Loto-ides, Nymphæo-ides, and Nupharo-ides.

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* Κιβώριον.—Δίδυμος δέ φησι ποτηρίου εἶδος εἶναι, καὶ τάχα ἄν εἴη τὰ λεγόμενα σκυφία διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν εἰς γενὸν συνῆχθαι ὡς τὰ Αἰγύπτια κιβώρια. — ATHENÆUS, lib. xi. cap. 7. p. 477. Ed. Casaub.

The species will mark the more or less close adherence to the forms of these capsules.

A Punic* bottle, in the British Museum, and of conical form, resembling the capsule of the Nelumbium, but inverted, and with the addition of a taper neck and cruet lip, as also the truncated conical form of certain cups of heavy black ware, to be found in most collections, are strongly characteristic of the first genus.

The ordinary bell-shaped vase also resembles, but more faintly, the full grown, and somewhat flattened capsule of the Nelumbium; while others of this kind, more cylindrical, may be compared to an enlarged capsule of the same plant, after most of the petals have fallen off. These are the vases which have handles at the bottom of the bowl, and just above the stem.

The spheroidal form of the fruit of the Nymphæa *Lotus* may be discovered in those vases of Campania, which are remarkable for having upright ears, each formed of two stems connected at the top, and two pairs of knobs on the shoulder of the vessel. These, I conceive, were suggested by the petals, which are disposed, eight in a circle, round the bulb of the capsule†, after it is enlarged, and when the summit, overtopt by the shoulder, becomes buried within the bulb. In this instance, four of the leafits may be supposed to remain erect, the other four to have fallen off, leaving so many scars behind.

In the large Apulian vases, as they are termed, an allusion to the egg has been superadded to that of the vegetable; but the handles are derived from the fertile petals, or stamina, incurved towards the lip of the vase, or the summit of the capsule. Many varieties of what I term

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* The purple-figured ware is usually termed Punic; but some of this class were probably manufactured in very early times at or near Corinth, as Dodwell (Travels in Greece, vol. ii. p. 196, 197.) bought one of this description, inscribed with Greek characters, in that neighbourhood.

† This particular disposition of the eight petals round the bulb has been very curiously imitated upon three vases of heavy black ware in the British Museum, by four mouldings resembling a pointed Gothic arch, in addition to the handles. See the vignette, page 135. of this Appendix. One of these is engraved in the great work of D'Hancarville, vol. iv. plate LXX.

the Lotoidal Genus are formed by the addition of a neck with a spout or lip.

The tazza was derived from the summit of the capsule of the Nymphæa *Lotus*; and this summit, after subsiding, and becoming, as I before mentioned, buried within the bulb of the capsule, suggested the suddenly contracted throat of the lachrymatory vase.

The compressed form of some vases directs us to the Nymphæa *alba* for their original model. The connection of the common lamp, among the Greek *fictilia*, with this third family, may be thus traced. Its compressed and ribbed form represents the oblate spheroidal assemblage of seeds within the fruit of the white water-lily (Nymphæa *alba*), after the bursting of the coat which contained it.* The spout and handles are accessories.

Certain Campanian vases may be termed *urceolate*, or of bottle shape; globular at the bottom, then gradually lessening in the neck, and as gradually expanding again at the wide reflected lip. This is precisely the form of the capsule of the Nuphar *lutea* of Greece and Britain. In this country it is very significantly designated, "the yellow water-can."

These I conceive to have been the chief models for the forms of Greek vases†: but it is possible that the pericarpia and seed-vessels of other plants were resorted to by the ancients; as of the pomegranate, poppy, and many more. Lastly, the numerous *crepundia* of diminutive pottery are referable to the seed-vessels of a multitude of plants, which it might be very interesting, though difficult, to distinguish.

I now subjoin a more detailed classification of the whole:—

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* The corolla of the Nymphæa, after florescence, sinks beneath the water, to enable the fruit to swell to its peculiar form. When the capsule of the Nymphæa *alba* has attained this, the outer coat bursting, excludes the oblate spheroidal mass, in which the seeds are embedded. The summit at the same time starts from its seat entire, and discloses the perforation in the centre of the glutinous mass. The surface of this is ribbed, which is scarcely apparent through the coat which forms the capsule.

† The large Sicilian vases seem to be of a mixed character; the bulb of the vessel being designed from the fruit of the Nymphæa *Lotus*, while the neck partakes of the conical form of the fruit of the Nelumbium.

CLASSES.

I. The Purple-figured.
II. The Black-figured.
III. The Illumined.
IV. The Plain.

Class I.—*Purple-figured.*

Order I. Figures on a pale ground.

Class II.—*Black-figured.*

Order I. Figures on a red ground.
II. Figures on a pale ground.
III. Figures assisted with green or purple.
IV. Black figures on a red ground, the ground of the vase being black.

Class III.—*Illumined.*

Order I. Figures exhibiting the red clay, or warmed by a red varnish, on a black ground.
II. Figures on a pale clay.
III. Figures relieved with white, or yellow, or purple enamel.
IV. Figures on a white priming.
V. Figures painted in opake colour.
VI. Ornaments only in white or yellow enamel on a black ground.

Class IV.—*Plain.*

Order I. Pale clay.
II. Pale clay warmed with a varnish.
III. Black.
IV. Black tooled.

GENERA AND SPECIES.

Class I.—*Purple-figured.*†

Genus Nelumbio-*ides.*

Species 1. Conical,	- -	Neck long, one handle and spout. *D'Hancarville*‡, vol. ii. plate 117.
2. Flat,	- -	Circular, lip reflected. *British Museum.—A dish or trencher with animals disposed in circles, as if upon the surface of the Ciborium.*

Genus Loto-*ides.*

Species 1. Globular,	- -	Neck short, one handle from the lip to the shoulder, lip flat, throat narrow.
2. Semi-prolate spheroidal,		Neck very short, handle erect, lip triply scalloped. *D'Hancarville*, vol. i. plate 85.

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* The terms used in these tables are designed to convey a near idea of the several forms of vases; but they must not be understood to define them with mathematical precision.

† It has been my intention to omit altogether, from these tables, vases that exhibit ornaments painted rather with a dull red colour than purple, upon a pale, coarse, and heavy clay. Such vases are rather Tuscan than Greek, and of little interest compared with that ware which is usually termed Carthaginian. If it were desirable to notice them, they might form a second order under Class 1.

‡ I refer to the great work of D'Hancarville, in four volumes folio, descriptive of the original collection of vases of Sir William Hamilton, now in the British Museum.

Species 3. Oviform, - Two handles on the neck, throat contracted suddenly.

4. Expanded, - Two handles horizontally looped.

Genus Nymphæo-*ides*.

Species 1. Oblate spheroidal, Two handles looped very low, erect, throat open.

2. Utriform*, (*a.*) Handle looped above, position of the neck eccentric, lip flat, throat open.
D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 113.

(*b.*) Handle none, throat central, between two taller and narrow necks.
One specimen of this in the Hope Museum.

3. Oblate spheroidal, more or less compressed, (*a.*) Shoulder oblique, one handle erect, acutely looped, broad and flat, lip flat, throat open.
D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 46.

(*b.*) Neck none, throat open, one handle horizontally disposed, and waved.
D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate 104.

(*c.*) Lip thick, flat, mouth open.

Genus Nupharo-*ides*.

Species 1. Urceolate, - Shoulder wanting, lip flat, one small handle on the neck, throat narrow.

2. Urceolate narrow, The same.
D'Hancarville, vol. iv. plate 99.

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* I have included this species, because it appears among the engravings in the work of D'Hancarville. But it is probably no other than coarse Tuscan ware.

Class II.—*Black-figured.*

Genus Nelumbio-*ides.*

Species 1. Cylindrical, - Handles none, throat open, a parallel rim at the top and at the base, stem very short, nearly of equal diameter with the vase, plinth flat, lid flat, with a conical knob or handle.

Genus Loto-*ides.*

Species 1. Prolate spheroidal, (*a.*) One handle on the neck, lip triply scalloped.

(*b.*) Neck wide, throat open, lip concave, small, one handle erect.
Englefield vases, plate 36. No. 2.

2. Prolate spheroidal, truncated above, Shoulder flat or oblique, one handle on the neck, lip erect, or sloping, throat contracted suddenly.
Sicilian lachrymatory.—D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 66.—*Englefield vases*, plate 32. No. 4.

3. Semi-prolate spheroidal, or paraboloidal inverted, (*a.*) Throat open, lip none, with two handles looped, ascending.
Englefield vases, plate 29. No. 3.

(*b.*) Vertex truncated, *common cup.*

4. Oviform of mixed character, Two handles on the neck, neck wide, throat open.
D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 91.—*Englefield vases*, plates 25. 29.

5. Oviform, - - (*a.*) Two handles on the neck, lip oblique, throat open.

(*b.*) Neck funnel-shaped, with or without two handles.

(*c.*) One handle on the neck, lip triply scalloped.

Species 6. Oviform inverted, — One handle on the neck, throat contracted suddenly.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 80.

7. Expanded, — With two looped handles, stem and foot.

D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate 75.

Genus Nymphæo-ides.

Species 1. Oblate spheroidal, — (*a.*) Neck wanting, throat open.

Vase with the Sunian galley-race in the Hope Museum.

(*b.*) Neck short, throat open, two handles looped low, erect.

Englefield vases, plate 30. No. 1.

(*c.*) One handle on the neck, lip triply scalloped.

2. Oblate spheroidal approaching to oviform, — Two handles on the shoulder, looped at the bottom, neck straight, throat open.

Pactippus vase.—D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 22. p. 152.

3. Oblate spheroidal, much compressed, — Neck straight, throat open.

4. Semi-oblate spheroidal, — Neck short, throat open, stem cylindrical, foot wanting.

One specimen of this in the Hope Museum.

Genus NUPHARO-*ides*.

Species 1. Urceolate,

(*a.*) Shoulder oblique, two handles on the neck, neck short, lip oblique, throat open.

Agrigentine vase (of Talides) in the Hope Museum.

(*b.*) One handle on the neck, lip concave, throat open.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 118.

(*c.*) Shoulder wanting, one handle on the neck, lip flat.

CLASS III. — *Illumined.*

Genus NELUMBIO-*ides*.

Species 1. Conical truncated, and inverted,

(*a.*) Two handles ascending, incurved upon the lip, lip reflected, with stem and foot.

D'Hancarville, vol. iii. pl. 124, 125. —*Englefield vases*, pl. 35. No. 2.— *See also the coins of Methymna.**

(*b.*) The same without handles.

(*c.*) Surmounted by a pyramidal neck, with one handle and spout.

British Museum.—For the form, see D'Hancarville, vol. ii. pl. 107. 112.

2. Cylindrical,

Cover flat, stem or foot scarcely apparent.

Englefield vases, plate 31. No. 2.

* Varieties of this cup may be seen on the coins of Aphytis, Bœotia, Athens, and Naxos. The vase species 1., above, I take to be the καρχήσιον of Athenæus, resembling the upper extremity of the masts of the ancient galleys, and it seems to have been the particular kind of cup used in the game of the κότταβος.

Species 3. Conical terminating, One handle on the neck, mouth open, lip reflected, the vessel terminating in the head of some animal.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 49.

4. Conical campanulate, Two handles at the bottom of the bowl, erect and incurved.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 33. — *Englefield vases*, plate 9.

5. Campanulate, (*a.*) Two handles beneath the lip, and incurved, lip reflected.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 75. — *Englefield vases*, plates 11. 13.

(*b.*) The same, but the lip thin, ascending, or rather wanting.

D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate 54.

(*c.*) Bowl ribbed, handles knotted, lip with a horizontal fluting.

D'Hancarville, vol. iii. plate 101.— *Englefield vases*, plate 37. No. 3.

(*d.*) Lip none, two handles horizontally looped.

(*e.*) Two handles attached to the sides, handles no higher than the lip, with or without a stem and foot.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 39.

6. Campanulate inverted, With parallel rim on the shoulder, and at the base, neck tall, lip triply scalloped, or terminating in a spout, and one handle erect, and resting upon the shoulder.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 78. and vol. iv. plate 25.

Species 7. Campanulate, approaching to paraboloidal inverted,

(*a.*) Two handles beneath the lip, incurved, reflected.

(*b.*) Two handles beneath the lip, solid, flat, square, declining, rim thick, lip ascending.

Collection of Samuel Rogers, Esq.

Genus Loto-*ides*.

Species 1. Prolate spheroidal,

(*a.*) Neck long, erect, with one handle, throat contracted suddenly.

Englefield vases, with others, plate 33. No. 3.

(*b.*) Handle looped above, with spout.

(*c.*) Two handles, shoulder oblique, throat contracted suddenly, with stem and foot.

D'Hancarville, vol. iii. plate 95. — *Englefield vases*, plate 30. No. 2.

2. Prolate spheroidal, truncated above,

Shoulder flat, one handle on the neck, throat contracted suddenly.

Nolan lachrymatory.—Englefield vases, plate 35. No. 5.

3. Semi-prolate spheroidal,

Neck long, throat contracted suddenly.

Englefield vases, with others, plate 33.

4. Semi-prolate spheroidal inverted,

Open at the top, the entire diameter.

D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate 49.—*Englefield vases*, plate 37. No. 1.

5. Paraboloidal inverted,

(*a.*) Lip none, throat open, two handles horizontally looped.

Englefield vases, plate 36. No. 3.

(*b.*) Vertex truncated.

Englefield vases, plate 3 5. Nos. 1. 5.

(*c.*) Handles none, lip none, throat open.

Species 6. Oviform of mixed character,

Two double handles on the neck, neck wide, throat open, lip concave.

D'Hancarville, vol. iv. plate 111. — *Englefield vases*, plates 22. 24.

7. Oviform,

(*a.*) Shoulder faintly convex, one handle on the neck, and two on the shoulders, lip flat, throat narrow.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 30. — *Englefield vases*, plates 1, 2.

(*b.*) Two handles on the neck, throat contracted suddenly, stem short.

Englefield vases, plates 4, 5, 6.

(*c.*) One handle on the neck, lip triply scalloped.

D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate 23. — *Englefield vases*, plate 32. No. 1.

8. Oviform elongated of mixed character,

Shoulder faintly convex, two handles, throat open, lip concave.

Nolan.

9. Oviform elongated,

(*a.*) Shoulder faintly convex, two handles on the neck, lip flat, throat open.

Patroclus vase in the Hope Museum.

(*b.*) With handle looped above.

D'Hancarville, vol. iii. plate 98.

10. Globular, but sometimes oviform,

(*a.*) Shoulder flattened, or faintly convex, with two upright handles looped, and two pairs of knobs on the shoulders, neck none, with lid.

D'Hancarville, vol. iv. plate 84.

(*b.*) The same with masks on the shoulders.

Species 11. Oviform of composite character, (*a*) With two flat handles, looped at the bottom, and incurved upon the lip at top.

(*b.*) The same with masks upon the handles.

(*c.*) The same with masks on the handles, but the knobs on the shoulders commuted for swans' heads and necks.

D'Hancarville, vol. i. plate 52.

12. Expanded, (*a.*) Circular, with or without a globule* or gland in the centre.

(*b.*) The same with looped handles, and four or six knobs.

Engleficld vases, plate 27.

(*c.*) With or without looped handles incurved, and with or without a stem.

Englefield vases, plates 26. 35. No. 6.

Genus Nymphæo-*ides*.

Species 1. Oblate spheroidal, (*a.*) One handle on the neck, neck long, throat contracted suddenly.

Englefield vases, plate 34. No. 4.

(*b.*) Handle low, and looped above, with spout.

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* In imitation of the gland or nectary in the centre of the summit of the Nymphæa *Lotus*, which secretes a fragrant and spicy liquor, filling about one half of the cup of yellow petals in the centre of the corolla. This tazza, with the gland in the centre, was probably the Thericlean cup, which, as we learn from a fragment of Aristophanes, preserved by Athenæus, was manufactured by a celebrated potter of the name of Thericles, who was contemporary with that dramatic poet. Aristophanes there terms it εὐκύκλωτον ἀσπίδα (p. 472. Ed. Casaub.), as I presume, from its flattened and circular shape, with a boss in the centre. It may also have been the same as the φιάλη βαλανειόμφαλος of Cratinus, apud Athenæum, lib. xi. p. 501. Ed. Casaub.

Species 2. Semi-oblate spheroidal, — With two handles horizontally looped, ascending.

Genus NUPHARO-*ides*.

Species 1. Urceolate, — (*a.*) With two handles on the neck, lip reflected.

Nolan. — *D'Hancarville*, vol. i. plates 69. 72. vol. iii. plate 69.

(*b.*) With one handle on the neck, lip triply scalloped.

D'Hancarville, vol. ii. plate 101.— *Englefield vases*, plate 31. No. 5. plate 34. No. 2.

(*c.*) Shoulder wanting, neck taper, lip flat.

2. Urceolate narrow, — Shoulder wanting, one handle on the neck, lip flat, throat narrow.

3. Cylindrical, — Compressed in the middle, lip flat, neck tapering.

4. Expanded, and much compressed. — (*a.*) With a lid or cover.

Englefield vases, plate 30. No. 3.

(*b.*) With cover, stem, and foot; cover with upright stem, and summit flat, circular. Vase within, four-celled, cells with lids, which, as also the surface of the valves or dissepiments, are painted; cells surrounding a central tube, which is closed by a diminutive vase with a cover.*

Collection of S. Rogers, Esq.

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* This curious article affords a strong presumptive proof of the forms of vases having been derived from the seed-vessels of plants.

SECTION II.

Of the Water-Lilies of Egypt and Greece.—The Cibotium and Cibotus, or Ark of the Covenant.—Mysterious Allusions in the Nymphæa Lotus.—These Allusions discoverable in the Grecian, Moorish, and Gothic Architecture.—The latter probably derived from Alexandria in Egypt.

THE foregoing tables will furnish a pretty correct indication of the form of almost every painted vase in the collections of the British Museum, and of Thomas Hope, Esq., which are by far the most considerable in England. I will proceed to offer some remarks on those vegetable models, which have suggested to me the means of classifying these vessels, that the reader may judge, how far the *rationale* of my scheme may coincide with the opinions of the ancients, in fashioning them, and in applying them to religious uses.

Of the two kinds of Egyptian water-lily, which I have selected as the original models of my two first genera, the Nelumbium has been briefly described by Athenæus in his third book, and more scientifically by Rheede in his Hortus Malabaricus, and by Rumphius in the Herbarium Amboinense, and recently by Sir James Edward Smith, M. D., in his

Exotic Botany, where a representation of the plant is given in a coloured plate. Herodotus has described the second in the following terms:— "When the Nile is full, and covers the plains like a vast sea, many lilies "are produced in the water, which the Egyptians call Lotus. In times of "scarcity they dry these in the sun, and bruising what they find in the "centre resembling a poppy-head, they make bread of it, baking it with "fire."* As I am not aware of any modern publication in which the Nymphæa *Lotus* is fully and satisfactorily described, I will venture to add something further respecting it. The corolla of this is generally styled by botanists *polypetalous*, but an attentive observation of a well blown speciment enables me to assert, that while the calyx is composed of four leafits in a double and alternate series, that is to say, of four coloured and four particoloured leafits, the corolla is octopetalous in a double series, the inner circle of eight white petals being much smaller than the outer circle of the same number. In the centre is a cup formed of more than eighty small petals in regular sets of about four yellow incurved leafits, each diminishing in length towards the centre. On the tip of each of these, and on the inner side, the anthers are disposed in two thin parallel lines. A fifth or interior barren leafit is connate with a recurved rib of the summit of the capsule, and forms the extremity of the rib, for the summit consists of an umbilical gland in the centre of a salver, with various spongy rays, apparently springing from the gland, each in the form of a cymatium, but horizontally disposed. The hollow of this summit, I presume to say, furnished the idea of the tazza. If a set of the four inner fruitful leafits or stamina, and the fifth barren member, be separated from this central cup of the flower by the knife, they furnish the ornament which decorated the prows of the ancient galleys, called *Acrostolium*, while the salver of the summit, abridged of about one third of its disk, re-

* Ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι Λωτόν. ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἐὸν ἐμφερὲς, πλίσαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπλοὺς πυρί.—Lib. ii. s. 92. This of the Nymphæa *Lotus*. He then proceeds to describe the other kind of lily of the Nile, with a flower like a rose, and fruit like a wasp's nest, namely, the Nelumbium. From Theophrastus it also appears, that the Nymphæa *Lotus* is a native of the Euphrates.

† Blown by Mr Anderson, the intelligent and very zealous curator of the Botanic Garden of the Apothecaries' Company at Chelsea.

presents the honeysuckle ornament of the ancient Acroteria, which often exhibits the central gland at the base of the tuft of leafits so disposed.

But if these plants were objects of religious respect among the Egyptians and Greeks, we shall assuredly find a nobler application of them than as models for vases and utensils. I shall, therefore, indulge in a digression, to show that they furnished an important meaning in the ornaments of their sacred architecture.

In those Eastern countries which were liable to periodical inundations, so long as the floods prevailed, the water-lily would have presented a principal object for contemplation. It would have been viewed as a promise of the fertility to be expected on the subsiding of the waters, it would have reminded observers of the preservation of a select few during a more awful deluge, and of the ancient tradition that all things had been created from water. In these senses it was probably first contemplated in Shinar, and gladly recognised by the dispersed who settled apart on the Yellow River, the Ganges, and the Nile. The first temples erected after the flood would have required such ornaments as were allusive to the mercies experienced, and would have been expressive of the gratitude of the few preserved.

It can scarcely be doubted, that the columns of the Egyptian temples were originally designed to imitate reeds, or lotus stems, swathed together at different intervals; thus conveying a notion of submersion, while the foliage appeared above, as if on the surface of the water. It is therefore, that in the Greek cornice we find the cymatium, κυμάτιον, of which the profile is convex and concave, to represent a wave, as its name imports. I even venture to think, that the original structure of the Doric Greek, as of the Egyptian column, was reeded, and that the echinus, as it is termed, in the capital of the former, is really the fruit of the water-lily, which, reduced at the bottom by regular cuttings that appear as annulets, is supposed to have its point buried amid the extremities of the reeds of the column, from the surface of which, several of the reeds have been alternately removed to produce the flutings; and that the channel sunken in the shaft, and round it, below the capital, is a groove, designed to receive a cord, by which the ῥάβδοι of the shaft might be bound at top, to prevent their starting under the pressure of the fruit and the weight of the entablature.

In the Ionic capital we find the egg and anchor moulding, as it is improperly termed, connecting the volutes. It is not improbable that these last were designed to represent the leaf of the water-lily, though inverted, unfolding itself on its arrival at the surface of the water. I consider the oval beads in this moulding to be no other than the seeds of the Nelumbium, each viewed within its cell in a section of the ciborium. Hence, as I have presumed to derive the campanulate vase from the fruit of the Nelumbium, these nuts form an appropriate ornament for the lip of such a vessel; and instances of this application of the ornament may be seen among the elegant engravings by Moses, from the vases of the late Sir H. C. Englefield.

From the κάρυα of the Nelumbium has been derived the caryatid substitute for the column in architecture. These figures are frequently called Canephoræ; but except that the lip of the ciborium which they bear on their heads is reflected like a basket, they rarely, I believe, present any other resemblance. These females truly bear on their heads the capsule of the Nelumbium, as the busts of Jupiter Serapis are also surmounted by it.

Mr. Gwilt, in his Essay on Caryatides, has properly concluded that the first statues so called were either applied to the temple of Diana, or were representations of virgins who were engaged in her worship. But the origin of Diana Caryatis is yet to be accounted for. It has been imagined, that the embellishments of the Dea Multimamma at Ephesus were suggested by the many nippled surface of the Egyptian ciborium. This admitted, the Ephesian and the Laconian Diana are the same mystic personage, and the figures of those priestesses with the caryatid headdress, who occasionally danced to her honour, might have furnished appropriate supporters to the portico of her temple at Caryæ near Sparta. By the story of the jealousy of Lyco and Orphe, and their expulsion by Bacchus, as cited by Mr. Gwilt from Servius, may be obscurely implied the first introduction of Egyptian mysteries into Laconia, and the setting aside for them some previously established Pelasgic, or other doctrines.

Let me now venture to trace this interesting subject to a more important conclusion, and offer what it presents to me, respecting our Christian order of architecture.

It may be believed, that if the Pagans illustrated their religious tenets by their architecture, the Christians would not fail to do the same; particularly during the rivalry that existed between the Platonists and Christians at Alexandria, and the taste for mysticism which prevailed in that city about the third and fourth centuries. It may also be imagined, that the Christians, while they imitated, might hope to instruct, their precursors in architectural science. If the Nelumbium had been chiefly resorted to by the Pagans to illustrate their great doctrine of renovation from water, the Nymphæa *Lotus* would probably be preferred by the Christians for the same purpose; particularly on account of its conformation, which exhibited a record of the Ogdoad in the eight petals which surrounded the central σκύφιον.

It is interesting to observe, how widely these principles had formerly been spread, and how the nations of the East were once bound together by one religious tie. The Chinese still preserve a recollection of the Patriarchal eight*, who survived the general flood, by the eight petals of the Lotus circularly disposed in four correspondent pairs; or by a bamboo clustered, and surrounded by eight smaller stems of the same plant.† A similar commemoration can be shown in the ornaments of Christian architecture. Of the latter we find an instance in certain massive columns in the cathedral at Milan, which are surrounded, each, by eight smaller ones clustered and joined to it, and are surmounted by eight tabernacles, or niches, containing the figures of as many saints, as may be seen in the memoir of Mr. Kerrich, Archæologia, vol. xvi. p. 302. Were a Chinese Mandarin to view these columns, he would immediately recognise the symbol. An example of the former may be shown in our own country. In the church of St. Mary at Dover, may be seen two Norman pilaster columns bearing octangular mouldings by way of capitals, and near them a massive pilaster column, the capital of which is formed of four large

* I have no hesitation in thus interpreting the eight Elementary Tchin, which are thus symbolised upon the ancient porcelain and earthenware of the Chinese. I should, however, add, that the water-lily usually employed by the Chinese as a religious symbol is the Nelumbium; but I believe that other kinds are natives of China. Even the Nymphæa *pygmæa* of China would exhibit the conformation by eight in its various parts, nearly similar to the Nymphæa *Lotus*.

† Instances of both these illustrations by the Chinese are in my own possession.

and three smaller erect and alternate petals of the Nymphæa *Lotus;* so that, had the column been complete, the number of petals would have been eight and eight, in strict conformity with the corolla of the Egyptian plant. A Gothic pointed window, subdivided by a munion into two lesser pointed arches, exhibits nearly the same form, and the same alternate disposition of petals of the Nymphæa *Lotus;* the windows and portals therefore of certain early Christian churches might have been derived from the petals and calyx of the Lotus, and the cupola from its capsule.* A cupola had indeed been previously used to denote the vault of heaven in the Pantheon of Agrippa at Rome; it may, however, be seen imbricated with Lotus petals in the grand work of Daniell, particularly in a plate† which represents the mausoleum of Mucdoom Shah Dowlut, at Mooneah on the river Soane: and, upon a smaller scale, the canopies for Gothic shrines and niches for saints were derived from, and even named after, the fruit of the Nelumbium, as may be seen in the memoir of Mr. Ledwich, Archæologia, vol. viii. p. 171., and as the reader may satisfy himself, by referring to Dufresne's glossary, at the word Ciborium, where very interesting authorities are cited. The purport of these ἅγιοι, or saints, placed beneath the cover of the ciborium, will appear from considering the connected meaning of that word.

Now κιβώριον and κιβώτιον were indifferently the name of the capsule of the Egyptian Nelumbium, and it is singular, that the latter of these words should have been applied to the cone of this particular water-lily, which after the falling off of the petals bears the young family of sprouting seeds floating on the water, which seeds strike root, when enlarged from their cells after the subsiding of the periodical floods‡, when a word nearly similar, κιβωτὸς, was used by the Alexandrine translators of the Scriptures to denote both the ark of Noah, and the ark of the covenant. The chest which contained the Tables of the Law was indeed of oblong square

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* The original architectural term in Spanish for a cupola is *cimborio.* It is probable that the ciborium was referred to, without any precise knowledge of the plant to which it belonged. The actual form of the cupola is more truly expressed by the popular term, *media naranja*, the half orange.

† Plate 22. of the set, published in 1795.

‡ See this subject well described by Sir James Edward Smith, M. D., in his Exotic Botany.

shape, but the moulding which strengthened the edge of it, upon which the lid or mercy seat rested, was termed κυμάτιον*, a wavelet, as if it had been designed to represent a floating chest; and I doubt not, it was designed for a memorial, like other figurative objects among the Jewish ceremonials. Both of these were types of the ark of Christ's church, as it is termed in our baptismal service; within the enclosure of which, while God's laws are kept, which is the great and only test of regeneration, safety is insured to the believer, in passing through the waves of this world to the next, under the covering of the sprinkled mercy seat. Hence the propriety of that figurative expression of St. Paul addressed to the Hebrews, c. vi. ver. 12.19., will appear, where he encouraged them to go on to perfection, to be not slothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherited the promises, and to lay hold upon that hope, the anchor of the soul, which is dropped within the enclosure of the veil. Where allusion is made to the ark, considered as a ship, moored within the Holy of Holies, that enclosure which was figurative of Heaven, and this, if they persevered, would not fail to be their final resting place. The safety that had been insured to the patriarchal family is referred to in the custom of placing saints beneath the cover of the ciborium.

The most marked comparison between the deluge and the sacrament of baptism occurs in the first epistle of St. Peter (c. iii.), who speaks of "the long suffering of God, which waited in the days of Noah, while the "ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by "water: the like figure whereunto, even baptism doth, also, now save us." Chap. iii. v. 20, 21. Hence Augustine speaks of the sacrament of the deluge, as prefigurative of the Christian church, and he elsewhere says, in a figurative sense, "*Arca enim Ecclesia est.*" Gregory of Nazianzum had before termed baptism a deluging of sin, not a drowning of the world as of old, but a purifying of the individual from sin†, and the church into which the elect were received by baptism, was considered as a ship; at least, in the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, the whole appointment of the church is likened to that of a ship, wherein the bishop is the pilot, the

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* Καὶ ποιήσεις αὐτῇ κυμάτια χρυσᾶ στρεπτὰ κύκλῳ.—Exod. c. 25. v. 11.

† Oratione 40. vol. i. pp. 638. 641. Ed. Morell.

ministers sailors, and the congregation passengers.* Much in the same spirit, Clemens Alexandrinus had long before pointed the following beautiful apostrophe in his concluding prayer to the Divine Logos, Christ, his Pædagogue: — Καὶ πάρασχε — ἀκυμάντως τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν κλύδωνα διαπλεύσαντας, γαληνιῶντας Ἁγίῳ σωζέσθαι Πνεύματι. (*Pædag.* in fine.) "Grant, — that in our voyage over the sea of sin, we may not be tossed "by the waves of it, but be gently borne along by thy Holy Spirit."

But notwithstanding this connected view of the sacrament of baptism with the ark and the Christian church, the earliest baptisteries we are informed, were built apart from churches, but their form was octagonal.† Such was the baptistery of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the Lateran baptistery of Constantine at Rome, and those at Ravenna and Florence. Montfaucon has enumerated seven instances of octagonal buildings in different parts of France, which doubtless had been baptisteries. The adaptation of this form to the sacramental uses of the building is substantiated by the inscription over the baptistery of St. Thecla at Milan, which is thus given by Montfaucon, vol. ii. supplement, p. 220 :—

Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus,
Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.
Hoc numero decuit sacris baptismatis aulam
Surgere; quò populis vera salus rediit.‡

The circular form succeeded to the octagonal; as in the instance of the church of St. Jean (namely the Baptist), termed *le Rond*, at Paris; where the form, though circular, is said to have approached to the

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* Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, lib. ii. c. 57. p. 260, 261.; and in the spurious epistle of Clement to James, Ἔοικεν γὰρ ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας νηὶ μεγάλῃ. — P. 609.

† The first Metropolitan church, however, at Antioch, built under the orders of Constantine, was of octagonal form.

‡ In Mr. Gough's observations on ancient fonts (Archæologia, vol. x. p. 199.), two more verses are cited, with a reference to Gruter's Inscriptions, and to Ciampini:

Luce resurgentis Christi, qui claustra resolvit
Mortis, et a tumulis suscitet exanimes.

Mr. Gough has added: "The last lines explain the appearance of Christ's re-"surrection on fonts." The lines have an allusion to the early practice of baptising particularly at Easter.

octagonal.* Besides the baptistery connected with the cathedral at Canterbury, which admits of little question, I apprehend that one (*if not more than one*) instance of a baptistery which has been overlooked occurs in our own country; I mean in the round church at Cambridge, which, in imitation of the octagonal Catholic baptistery at Ravenna, has its inner wall supported by a circle of eight columns. This mystic number, however, was not always observed. In the circular baptistery at Pisa, the columns are twelve in number. Robinson, in his History of Baptism, acknowledges that baptisteries, which imply an intermediate state of baptism between that in rivers and that in fonts, were but few in Britain, which he attributes to the prevalence of Pelagian principles in those times. Yet he adds, "there were however, as Bede observes, "some of these oratories or baptismal chapels erected here at first." The period of these is between the coming of Austin and the conquest by the Normans, p. 129. He refers a chapel of the Abbey of Braintree in Essex to that period; he notices also a Roman bath at the west end of the parish church of St. Mary at Dover, which he thinks had been used at first for the church baptistery; nor are these the only instances adduced by him.

Of the origin of the round church at Cambridge, we are assured, no record exists. Report has ascribed its foundation to the Templars, and as bathing for chivalrous purposes† was occasionally performed on the Continent in the baptismal churches of St. John‡, (although we can scarcely suppose that the sacred *piscina* was used for the purpose§,) the erection of baptisteries by the Knights Templars, both for parochial and chivalrous uses, would appear to be neither inconsistent nor improbable.

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* This church was situated beyond the cathedral of Notre Dame. It was taken down several years ago, and I have been informed that not a vestige of the foundation remains.

† The bath and white garment of the novice, says Gibbon, were an indecent copy of the regeneration of baptism. (Vol. xi. p. 38.) The knights, however, were required upon their oaths to declare their abhorrence of anabaptism, (Robinson, p. 389.) as an acknowledgment that there is only one baptism in the Christian church, according to Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.

‡ Robinson, p. 390.

§ The profanation of Nicolas Rienzi, in the baptistery of the Lateran, is perhaps a solitary instance to the contrary. See Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 347.

The round church at Cambridge is dedicated under the title of the Holy Sepulchre, and is supposed to have derived its circular shape from the church under which the small chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is contained. This form, I believe, superseded the octagon in baptisteries, in order to preserve in the latter more strongly an allusion to the Apostle's exposition of the Christian rite, which is most clearly stated by him in his epistle to the Romans, c. vi. ver. 4. Συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς θάνατον, "We are buried with him" (that is, with Christ) "in baptism," by being, as Whitby expresses it, "*buried* "*under water*," and thus obliged to a conformity to his death, by dying unto sin; and we have already had the opportunity of observing in the two last verses of the Latin inscription over the baptistery of St. Thecla, quoted by Mr. Gough, that in the institution of these baptisteries a reference was made to the death and resurrection of our Saviour, and to the baptised Christians dying unto sin, and walking in *newness of life*.

The church at Cambridge, thus adapted by its form to the commemoration of the Saviour's death, preserves the mystic number of columns, and shows the two allusions combined. I am hence induced to believe, that round churches, wherever they occur, were originally baptismal oratories. In the end, fonts were introduced into churches, in lieu of the detached baptisteries, and the rite of initiation was recorded in these sacred edifices by the pointed arch, and by the octagonal mouldings, with which the columns were surmounted.

It is to be regretted, that no monuments remain, from which we can judge in what style of architecture the episcopal churches were constructed, which in the reign of Constantine, were closely planted along the banks of the Nile.* It can scarcely be believed, that the Roman style was adopted in that country, which was at all times original in its structures and inventions. The primitive churches also in Abyssinia, which must have been copied from those at Alexandria, no longer exist, and have been supplied by others more modern. But it may be fairly supposed, that something resembling the Eastern Moorish, or Gothic, style of building had been adopted there, and communicated thence to Europe and Asia. The first building of the cathedral of St. Mark at

* Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 283.

Venice, we are told, was occasioned by refugees from Alexandria, who brought with them thence the remains of that Evangelist. The present is not indeed the original structure, nor does the interior of that basilica answer to the expectation excited by the portals; but the Gothic fashion of the Doge's palace seems to indicate the style imported by the Alexandrian freemasons. It is usual to term this Moorish; but the Moslems had no original architecture; they borrowed from Byzantium. Gibbon observes* that, in Spain, the third of the Abdolrahmans invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skilful sculptors and architects of the age, to construct his city, palace, and gardens, at Zehra. This was indeed so late as between A. D. 912 and 961. But of the Abbassides, Almanzor, A. D. 754, was the first who encouraged the acquisition of profane science, and Almamon, the seventh of the Abbassides, (between A. D. 813 and 833,) is said by Gibbon to have invited the muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, and his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science.† It can scarcely be doubted that architecture was included among the sciences he so encouraged; and although Gibbon mentions the surprise of Mahomet the Second, upon entering Constantinople after its surrender, at the palaces and buildings it contained, so different from the architecture of the East, which must perhaps be understood in a very qualified sense‡, it may nevertheless be believed that Alexandrian architects had been encouraged there, and that these were the artists who had been furnished to the Abbassides. The Mahommedan architecture, therefore, from Samarcand to Cordoba, including also those structures in Hindostan so finely represented by the pencil of Daniell, may be supposed to have been of Byzantine, or, to speak more correctly, of Alexandrian Greek original. It is probable that so early as on the taking of Alexandria (A. D. 620) by Chosroes, who had demolished the

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* Vol. x. p. 38.

† Gibbon, vol. x. p. 41, 42.

‡ The possessions of Mahomet the Second, in the East, were confined to Asia Minor, which had been laid waste by Tamerlane, who destroyed all the principal buildings in it fifty years before. That the Turks possessed no considerable specimens of architecture at that time may be concluded from the church of St. Sophia having served as the model for all the mosques they constructed afterwards.

churches in the East, and carried off the artists of the country, some few Alexandrian architects were removed into Persia; but that upon the capture of the same city by Amrou, A. D. 640, others were dispersed over the Greek empire, whence they might have spread themselves over Italy and the north of Europe, where their principles were improved upon by men of science and taste, among the more learned northern ecclesiastics. Through these architects were probably received, the canopy or ciborium, the ornament of the Nymphæa *Lotus*, and the pointed forms suggested by it.* The first of these is an Egyptian word, as we are assured by Hesychius, the latter is the peculiar native of the Nile, and it directs us where to seek the origin of the pointed order in architecture. It is admitted that the Goths could not have furnished this. It may be worthily referred to the church of Alexandria.

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* The pointed arch seems to have been known in Syria rather earlier than A. D. 200, as a friend has observed, directing me to an example of it exhibited in the architectural decoration of a funeral pile upon a family coin of Julia Mammæa, designed to represent her as of *royal birth*, and struck at Emesa in Syria, which was her birth place. (In the Colonial Coins of Vaillant.) This coin bears the name of Aphaci, a neighbouring city, where Venus was worshipped with very gross rites; which may account for the Roman legend, "Veneri Genetrici."

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 3. *note*, for lxv., read xlv.
5. for Ναζαραῖος, read Ναζωραῖος.
35. for ἀποσμήξας, read ὑποσμήξας.
47. for *Heraclium*, read *Heracleum*.
103. for *Choræous*, read *Choræbus*.
104. for page 433., read page 483.
131. line 2. after *incurved*, read *lip reflected*.

Accents misplaced. — Title-page, for γὰρ ἐσιν ἡ, read γάρ ἐσιν ἡ: — page 18. for δὲ τινα, read δέ τινα: — page 19. for παραρύδμοι, read παράρυδμοι: — page 35. for αὶγῃ read αἰγῇ: — page 115. for κακὸς, read κακός: — page 121. for ἄν εἴη, read ἂν εἴη.

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